HOW THE BLACKFOOT LIVED

291 237 THE primitive clothing of the Blackfeet was made of the dressed skins of certain animals. Women seldom wore a head covering. Men, however, in winter generally used a cap made of the skin of some small animal, such as the antelope, wolf, badger, or coyote. As the skin from the head of these animals often formed part of the cap, the ears being left on, it made a very odd-looking head-dress. Sometimes a cap was made of the skin of some large bird, such as the sage-hen, duck, owl, or swan.

The ancient dress of the women was a shirt of cowskin, with long sleeves tied at the wrist, a skirt reaching half-way from knees to ankles, and leggings tied above the knees, with sometimes a supporting string running from the belt to the [178] leggings. In more modern times, this was modified, and a woman's dress consisted of a gown or smock, reaching from the neck to below the knees. There were no sleeves, the armholes being provided with top coverings, a sort of cape or flap, which reached to the elbows. Leggings were of course still worn. They reached to the knee, and were generally made, as was the gown, of the tanned skins of elk, deer, sheep, or antelope. Moccasins for winter use were made of buffalo robe, and of tanned buffalo cowskin for [531] summer wear. The latter were always made with parfleche soles, which greatly increased their durability, and were often ornamented over the instep or toes with a three-pronged figure, worked in porcupine quills or beads, the three prongs representing, it is said, the three divisions or tribes of the nation.

nation. The men wore a shirt, breech-clout, leggings which 000
reached to the thighs, and moccasins. In winter both men 291
and women wore a robe of tanned buffalo skin, and sometimes 237
of beaver. In summer a lighter robe was worn, made
of cowskin or buckskin, from which the hair had been
removed. Both sexes wore belts, which supported and
confined the clothing, and to which were attached knife-sheaths
and other useful articles.

Necklaces and ear-rings were worn by all, and were made 237
of shells, bone, wood, and the teeth and claws of animals. 531
Elk tushes were highly prized, and were used for ornamenting [301]
women's dresses. A gown profusely decorated with
them was worth two good horses. Eagle feathers were used [435]
by the men to make head-dresses and to ornament shields
and also weapons. Small bunches of owl or grouse feathers
were sometimes tied to the scalp locks. It is doubtful if the 302
women ever took particular care of their hair. The men, [562]
however, spent a great deal of time brushing, braiding, and
ornamenting their scalp locks. Their hair was usually worn
in two braids, one on each side of the head. Less frequently,
four braids were made, one behind and in front of
each ear. Sometimes, the hair of the forehead was cut off
square, and brushed straight up; and not infrequently it was
made into a huge topknot and wound with otter fur. Often
a slender lock, wound with brass wire or braided, hung down
from one side of the forehead over the face.

As a rule, the men are tall, straight, and well formed. 142
Their features are regular, the eyes being large and well set,
and the nose generally moderately large, straight, and thin.
Their chests are splendidly developed. The women are
quite tall for their sex, but, as a rule, not so good-looking as
the men. Their hands are large, coarse, and knotted by
hard labor; and they early become wrinkled and careworn.
They generally have splendid constitutions. I have known 147
them to resume work a day after childbirth; and once, when [846]

buffalo and mountain sheep horn. Basins or flat dishes 415
were sometimes made of mountain sheep horn, boiled, split, [237]
and flattened, and also of split buffalo horn, fitted and sewn
together with sinew, making a flaring, saucer-shaped dish. [321]
These were used as plates or eating dishes. Of course,
they leaked a little, for the joints were not tight. Wooden
bowls and dishes were made from knots and protuberances
of trees, dug out and smoothed by fire and the knife or by
the latter alone.

It is not known that these people ever made spears, hooks, 411
or other implements for capturing fish. They appear never 501
to have used boats of any kind, not even "bull boats."
Their highest idea of navigation was to lash together a few
sticks or logs, on which to transport their possessions across
a river.

Red, brown, yellow, and white paints were made by burning 386
clays of these colors, which were then pulverized and
mixed with a little grease. Black paint was made of charred
wood.

Bags and sacks were made of parfleche, usually ornamented 415
with buckskin fringe, and painted with various designs [531]
in bright colors. Figures having sharp angles are
most common.

The diet of the Blackfeet was more varied than one would 262
think. Large quantities of sarvis berries (*Amelanchier* 222
alnifolia) were gathered whenever there was a crop (which
occurs every other year), dried, and stored for future use. [137]
These were gathered by women, who collected the branches [251]
laden with ripe fruit, and beat them over a robe spread upon
the ground. Choke-cherries were also gathered when ripe, [137]
and pounded up, stones and all. A bushel of the fruit, after
being pounded up and dried, was reduced to a very small [251]
quantity. This food was sometimes eaten by itself, but
more often was used to flavor soups and to mix with pemmican.
Bull berries (*Shepherdia argentea*) were a favorite [137]

584 senger to state his own views, and ask how the father feels about the matter.

On receiving this word, the boy's father probably calls together his close relations, discusses the matter with them, and, if the match is satisfactory to him, sends back word to that effect. When this message is received, the relations of the girl proceed to fit her out with the very best that they can provide. If she is the daughter of well-to-do or wealthy people, she already has many of the things that are needed, but what she may lack is soon supplied. Her mother makes her a new cowskin lodge, complete, with new lodge poles,
584 lining, and back rests. A chief's daughter would already
291 have plenty of good clothing, but if the girl lacks anything,
it is furnished. Her dress is made of antelope skin, white
● 531 as snow, and perhaps ornamented with two or three hundred elk tushes. Her leggings are of deer skin, heavily beaded and nicely fringed, and often adorned with bells and brass buttons. Her summer blanket or sheet is an elk skin, well tanned, without the hair and with the dew-claws left on. Her moccasins are of deer skin, with parfleche soles and worked with porcupine quills. The marriage takes place as soon as these things can be provided.

584 During the days which intervene between the proposal and the marriage, the young woman each day selects the choicest parts of the meat brought to the lodge, — the tongue, "boss ribs," some choice berry pemmican or what not, — cooks these things in the best style, and, either alone, or in company with a young sister, or a young friend, goes over to the lodge where the young man lives, and places the food before him. He eats some of it, little or much, and if he leaves anything, the girl offers it to his mother, who may eat of it. Then the girl takes the dishes and returns to her father's lodge. In this way she provides him with three meals a day, morning, noon, and night, until the marriage takes place. Every one in camp who sees the girl carrying the food in a covered dish

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New home constructed by the owner under the Mutual Aid Housing program.

362 an impact, however. Low-rent home consruction programs have been funded by
the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; fifty such units were
657 completed and accepted in 1966 and another fifty-five were nearing completion
during the summer of 1970. Construction had started during that summer of
fifty middle income rental homes financed by a tribal investment of land and
F.H.A. supported loans. In another program, the Housing Authority, supported
by the U.S. Federal Housing Assistance Administration began Mutual Help
Housing construction. The first units under this program were occupied in 1965
and additional units have been completed and occupied in each succeeding year
in Browning, Babb, and Starr School. This is a cooperative endeavor drawing on
the resources of many agencies. The F.H.A.A. made a loan for the purchase of
material and wages for supervisory labor, the B.I.A. provided general supervisory
help, the tribe through the Housing Authority selected the candidates for home
ownership. The purchasers contributed their labor to build their own house and
to help their neighbors, and agreed to pay off the loan with small monthly payments
geared to the family income. No one buyer could occupy his house until
all houses of any one segment of the program were finished. These projects take
time; the faster builder awaits the slower, but with cooperation the job gets done.

653 Other tribal investments of land combined with federal loan programs
have resulted in the completion of a new tribal office and community center and
a new modern jail.

529 The attention of both the tribe and the B.I.A. has recently turned to the
development of the tourist potential of the reservation. For many years the Blackfeet
[655] have been aware of the tourists. Many have earned money as entertainers
at the lodges of Glacier National Park, others have profited from the sale of Indian
[217] crafts to tourists passing through the reservation to and from the park. The
Museum of the Plains Indian has attracted an ever increasing number of visitors
[531] since its opening in 1941, and the Blackfeet Arts and Crafts Association has
[443] supplied and sold local Indian work through the museum gift shop and through
its own shop at St. Mary. [p. 62]

439 the first time. These presents appealed to the chiefs' vanity and
[291] advertised coarse woolens for replacement of native clothing
among the chiefs' followers. Point blankets, handkerchiefs, and
other materials of cloth were also stocked by the traders.

To a stone age people the traders offered a variety of metal
439 objects in addition to firearms. There were metal arrowheads,
412 lance heads, knives for hand-to-hand fighting and for scalping,
files for working pipestone, and steels for kindling fire. Women
[411] found equally useful metal articles among the traders' wares.
[415] There were knives for cutting tough rawhide, kettles for cooking, and axes for cutting firewood and tipi poles. At the close
of the first decade of the nineteenth century both kettles and
[313] axes still were scarce among the Blackfeet. Most women collected firewood by breaking off dead branches rather than by
felling trees and chopping them into convenient pieces with
axes.[35]

439 Among the luxury items in the traders' stock that attracted
Indian women were metal finger rings and large glass beads.
301 They strung the beads on buckskin cords to make necklaces.
Various colors of beads were available, but blue seems to have
439 been the favorite.[36] Indians of both sexes obtained commercial
302 colors for painting clothing, lodge covers, and their own faces.
Chinese vermilion was particularly in demand for face painting.

●[531] We are indebted to some of these traders for the first certain
contemporary descriptions of Blackfoot life. Most traders were
175 men of action with little education, skill, or interest in recording
their observations. But, fortunately, two of them, Alexander
Henry and David Thompson, both men of keen intelligence
who had had previous experience among Indian tribes, took the
trouble to record their observations on the Blackfoot tribes during the period 1787 to 1811.

175 Tribal populations were of practical importance to fur traders
161 interested in the numbers of their prospective customers and

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[35] *Ibid.*, II, 724.

[36] Umfreville, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, 202. The Blackfoot word for bead before 1790 was rendered "Com-on-e-cristo-man." This is literally "blue bead."

[ca. 1800]

woolens for winter wear, the buffalo robe remained their common 291
cold-weather outer garment. Their finest shirts, leggings, 237
and dresses were of antelope or mountain sheep skins. Deer and
elk skins were more serviceable for daily wear. Many garments 291
were painted with earth pigments, in solid colors or in simple
designs.[40] 531 ●

In summer the Blackfeet lived in large tribal camps to defend 221
themselves better against their enemies. They hunted buffalo on
horseback with bow and arrow. As winter approached, they 224
separated into bands of ten to twenty lodges, to make buffalo
pounds and to take wolves and foxes for the trade. The Piegans 224
living in the broken country near the mountains lured buffalo herds over high precipices along river valleys instead of bothering to make traditional pounds with fenced corrals. If the animals were not killed or entirely disabled by their fall, they were so badly bruised and shaken up that they were easily dispatched by hunters waiting with bows and arrows at the cliff base. It was not necessary to expend valuable powder and ball in this operation. So successful were Blackfoot buffalo hunters that they could furnish supplies of meat and pemmican to the traders and still accumulate surpluses to provide the Indians with food during the lean winter months.[41]

Blackfoot Indian homes were clean tipis covered with dressed 342
buffalo skins. Some of the covers were painted with rude repre- [592]
sentations of buffalo, bear, and other animals and birds.[42]

The Piegans—if not the other tribes also—then had a civil chief
and a war chief. The former was renowned for his eloquence, 622
the latter for his success in leading large war parties. Both held 701
limited authority. They, as well as the chiefs of hunting bands, were leaders only by the consent and will of their people. They "had no power beyond their influence, which would immediately cease by any act of authority and they are all very careful not to arrogate any superiority over others."[43]

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[40] Thompson, *Narrative*, 349-51; Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, 525-26, 725-26.

[41] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, II, 530, 723-25.

[42] *Ibid.*, II, 527.

[43] Thompson, *Narrative*, 346-47, 364-65.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

Women who dressed thousands of robes for the fur trade each
year also prepared hairy buffalo robes for the winter overclothing 294
and bedding of their own families. Robes were cut up to make 291
hair-lined mittens, winter caps with ear flaps, winter moccasins,
and ceremonial headdresses.

Soft-dressed buffalo skins without the hair were used for lodge 237
covers and linings, for pad saddles, and for winding sheets for
the dead. The smoke-softened upper portions of old, worn lodge 342
covers were salvaged, cut up, and reused for breechclouts and 492
items of winter clothing—men's and boys' shirts, women's and 764
girls' dresses, and leggings for both sexes. The thinner skins of
buffalo calves were made into tobacco pouches and winter un- 291
derpants worn by girls and women.

Buffalo horns made practical powder flasks for Blackfoot war- 415
riors. Horns were also fashioned into spoons, cups, and ladles. 415
The long, shaggy hair of the head, beard, and shoulders was 283
braided into rope halters and bridles. Hair supplied the soft
stuffing for pad saddles and balls used in games. Hair ornaments 492
hung from lodges, headdresses, and war clubs. The buffalo's tail 524
also was used for tipi ornaments. Mounted on a stick, the tail 531
served as a fly brush. Buffalo hoofs strung on rawhide cords 412
made noisy rattles. The scrotum of a bull provided a durable stir- 534
rup cover. The Blackfoot Indians derived their best glue from 492
a bull's phallus, cut into small pieces and boiled.

No less useful were many of the internal parts of this animal. 381
Buffalo sinew supplied thread for sewing and a strong, flat cord 283
for binding heads and feathers to arrowshafts. Bow strings and
bow backings were both of twisted bull sinew. The brains, liver,
and fat were rubbed into hides to soften them during the skin- 281
dressing process. Buffalo fat also was used to polish stone tobacco 324
pipes and to mix with earth pigments to provide an oily base
for paints. A yellow paint could be obtained from the buffalo's 386
gallstone. Water buckets were made from the paunch, and the 415
bladder was used as a bag for marrow grease.

The boss rib of a buffalo made a serviceable tool for straighten- 412
ing arrowshafts. A series of curved ribbones furnished the run- 493
ners for a boy's sled.

[ca. 1850]

6: Artists and Craftsmen

531 532

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Blackfoot men and women evidenced their handicraft skills in the making and decorating of a variety of useful articles. Some of their crafts differed little from those of their stone-age ancestors. Others made effective use of the sharp metal tools, cloth, glass beads, and other items received from the fur traders. Yet, even when they employed European-made materials, they produced handiwork such as was never known to Europe, reflecting the ingenuity and good taste of its Indian makers.

281 [177] [581]

The trade in buffalo robes encouraged greater production in a craft that was old long before white men appeared in the Blackfoot country—that of skin dressing. The women who dressed buffalo robes for market played an even more important role in the fur trade than did their husbands who killed the buffalo. Theirs was harder work than buffalo hunting. Twenty-five to thirty robes a winter were about as many as an industrious woman could prepare. A good buffalo hunter could keep several wives supplied with all the hides they could process. Women who excelled at skin dressing were proud of both the quantity and the quality of their output. Older women bragged of the number of robes they had dressed for market and the number of lodge covers they had made. Girls were taught that skill in dressing skins was a desirable attribute in the eyes of a prospective husband.

Dressing a buffalo hide involved a series of processes that can

342 part in this work. Lodge covers were replaced at least every
281 other year. Rather than discard its old cover a wealthy family
might give it to a poor woman who would cut several feet off
the bottom and convert it into a tipi for her family.

322 In the fall of the year women cut new tipi poles of lodgepole pine. After a woman had brought her poles into camp she made berry soup and invited young men who wished to help peel these poles to a feast. To remove the bark from a pole, a man secured a stick on the sharp end of his knife, grasped the stick with one hand and the knife handle with the other, and employed the knife as a draw shave.

532 Women painted geometric designs on the buffalo-skin draft
353 screens which lined the lower portions of their conical lodges.
The distinctive decoration on Blackfoot linings consisted of a
narrow horizontal band near the top with broader bands extending downward at intervals of about fifteen inches.

513 Blackfoot Indian beds were simply made of dried grass or
rawhide spread on the ground and covered with buffalo robes.
Women displayed their craftsmanship in making and decorating
the backrests set up at the head and foot of each bed. Some
125 or more peeled willow rods were tied together with sinew
cord one above the other to form a flexible, comfortable, A-
513 shaped seat back. The backrest was usually edged with red or
blue trade cloth, and a flap of the same material tastefully deco-
● 531 rated with porcupine quills or beadwork was suspended from
the top. A pole tripod supported the backrest, and these poles,
too, might be decorated by peeling off sections of bark in geometric patterns with a sharp knife and filling in the peeled areas with paint. It is doubtful that these picturesque house furnishings were known in prehistoric times.

291 Even though trade cloth was much used in Blackfoot clothing in the mid-nineteenth century, traditional styles of basic garments persisted. Some men did wear hooded coats made from Hudson's Bay blankets, copied from those worn by French-Canadian fur traders. And some members of both sexes preferred the trade blanket to the buffalo robe for their cold-weather

[ca. 1850]

outergarments. But buffalo robes were by no means passé. Some 291
of these robes were decorated on their skin surfaces with series
of horizontal parallel bands in painting or porcupine quillwork. 291
The Indians called these "real decorated robes," suggesting that 532
the decorative pattern was an old one. Successful warriors pre-
ferred to illustrate their deeds of valor with crude, stick-like fig- [531]
ures of horses captured and men fighting painted on their buf-
falo robes.

A man usually wore his buffalo robe or blanket wrapped 291
around his body, with his left shoulder covered and his right arm and shoulder uncovered. He held the garment in place by grasping the two ends with his left hand underneath the robe. In very cold weather or when courting, a man pulled this garment over his head like a shawl and kept both arms covered. Women generally belted their blankets or robes about their waists, allowing the upper part to fall free when they needed to use both hands in their work.

For daily wear, men dressed in calico or flannel shirts, blue [292]
cloth breechclouts, and cloth leggings, but their finest dress
clothing was of skins. Women lavished much time and care upon
making and decorating their husband's dress clothes. The finest 292
shirts and leggings were of antelope or bighorn skin. Two animal 294
skins were needed to make the sleeved shirt, which was put on
over the head. One skin formed the front of the garment, the other the back, and the legs of the animals hung down as trailers at the sides. Usually a narrow flap of red flannel bordered the neck opening. Over the center of the chest was sewed a large rosette or rectangle of skin, covered with quillwork or beadwork. Over both shoulders and down both sleeves (covering the seams) were narrow bands of quill or bead embroidery about three fingers (two inches) wide.

Leggings made of the same material as the shirt extended from ankle to hipbone, where they were tied to a narrow rawhide belt in a common knot. The leggings of this period fitted the form of the leg rather tightly. The vertical seam on the outside of the leg was covered with a beaded or quilled band

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

of their best dresses. Decorative patches of black and red flannel were sewed to the lower portions of fancy dresses. 292 294

Dresses had considerable fullness below the waist to allow freedom of movement in mounting and riding astride. They were confined at the waist by a broad belt of rawhide, fastened with buckskin tiestrings. In addition, women wore knee-length leggings of skin or trade cloth, decorated with bands of beadwork. Women appeared to prefer beadwork to quillwork in the decoration of their own clothing. 291 531 ● [291]

Both sexes wore soft-soled moccasins of deer or elkskin in warmer weather, of buffalo hide (hair inside) in winter. One piece of skin, folded along the inner side of the foot, provided both sole and upper. The sinew-sewn seam ran from toe to heel around the outside of the foot and up the back of the heel. Ankle flaps were added. Although dress moccasins were tastefully decorated with porcupine quills or bead embroidery, common ones were undecorated. 291 [531]

The traditional craft of quillwork still flourished. Porcupine quillwork was considered a sacred craft. Young women were ceremonially initiated into the art of handling the sharp-pointed quills. Their first quilled articles were presented as gifts to the sun. It was thought that a woman who attempted to do quillwork without having been ceremonially instructed would go blind or suffer from swelling finger joints. 531 294 [753]

Most Blackfoot quillworkers preferred the medium-sized quills from the back and sides of the porcupine. They imparted red, green, or blue colors to quills by dampening a quantity of dye plant yielding the desired color in water, placing a number of quills on top of it, wrapping them together in a piece of buckskin, and placing the package under their bed. After the package was pressed by the weight of the woman's body for a couple of nights it was unwrapped and the dyed quills removed. Some women dyed their quills by boiling them in water with a quantity of colored trade cloth.

Quills were kept in cigar-shaped elk-bladder containers until they were used. [415]

● 531 294 they were used. The quillworker made holes in the skin article to be decorated with a metal awl and passed sinew thread through these holes to attach the quills. She held the quills in her mouth to soften them and drew them between her teeth to flatten them. Women most commonly applied quills to men's shirts and leggings and to buffalo robes in series of narrow parallel bands, each less than one-fourth of an inch wide. Quillwork designs were usually made up of small geometric elements such as squares, rectangles, equal-armed crosses, and stepped-triangles. After the quills were sewed down, the craftswoman pressed them firmly with a buffalo-horn implement to make them lie flat.

This earlier technique of quillwork influenced Blackfoot bead embroidery. Women applied the beads in narrow bands and employed the same simple, blocky geometric designs in beadwork which they had been accustomed to use in quillwork. The embroidering beads of the period were about one-eighth of an inch in diameter, larger than those used in reservation days. Traders supplied these beads in six different colors—light blue, dark blue, dark red, deep yellow, white, and black. Blackfoot women showed a decided preference for the blue and white beads. They commonly alternated bands of blue and white beads in decorating their dresses. They used blue for background and white for designs in their beadwork on men's suits. At that time beads were expensive, and women used them more sparingly than in later years.

276 324 Men fashioned tobacco pipes from a grayish, calcareous shale quarried at sites beside the eastward-flowing rivers of the Blackfoot country. With a sharp piece of metal a pipemaker marked the outline of the pipe on a block of stone about three or four inches square and an inch and a half thick. He drilled the stem and bowl holes with a metal tool resembling a sharp-edged screwdriver, and expanded the hole in the bowl with a broader metal reamer. Then he shaped the outside with a file and carefully removed the file marks with a knife and a piece of sand rock. The form of the pipe resembled an acorn resting on a

[ca. 1880-1900]

657 and three pounds of beans, eight pounds of sugar, and one pound
262 of soda and of salt for every one hundred rations. With every
one hundred rations a half-pound of tobacco was issued.[8]

The hides of cattle killed to provide the Indians' meat were
657 given to the Indian women on ration day. In some weeks as
237 many as fifty hides were distributed, never more than half a
[283] hide to any woman. The women made rawhide rope and containers from these hides, just as they had made similar articles
[415] of buffalo hide in earlier days. They also cut moccasin soles from
237 cattle rawhide to make a hard-soled moccasin which was becoming the most popular type of Blackfoot footgear. It wore
[291] much longer than the traditional soft-soled moccasin. On the
other hand, commercial leather was replacing rawhide for saddle rigging, belts, cartridge cases, and ration ticket pouches.

● 531 Since the middle seventies, Blackfoot women's crafts had been
178 undergoing marked changes. About the time the agency was
moved northward from the Teton River (1876), some Piegan
Indian women who were married to white men began to employ
little glass beads, known as seed beads, in their beadwork. These
beads were only about half the size of the beads women had
been accustomed to use in their embroidery. But they were
[294] available in a much wider range of colors. They were sewn to
the basic skin or cloth material by taking stitches between every
second or third bead, giving the finished beadwork a neat, flat
appearance. It wasn't long before other Piegan women were
imitating this new style of beadwork. By the middle eighties the
earlier "big beads" were rarely employed except in the decoration of women's dresses. The Indian wives of white men have
also been credited with introducing new beadwork designs—fine-line curved motifs and floral patterns. These, too, were admired and copied by most other Blackfoot Indian beadworkers.

[237] So popular had seed beads and the new designs become by
the middle eighties that the younger generation of beaders began

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[127] [8] Data from Blackfeet Agency Ration Rolls of 1887, in the Blackfeet Archives, Museum of the Plains Indian.

[ca. 1880-1900]

to lose interest in porcupine quillwork. Very few girls bothered 531
to learn the quillworker's craft.

Other traditional crafts were becoming decadent for other 178
reasons. Government issue of cheap tin plates, cups, knives, and 237
forks made it unnecessary for the Indians to fashion wooden
bowls or horn cups and spoons. The issuance of strong, white 178
men's stock saddles rendered the more picturesque but weaker [322]
Indian-made saddles obsolete. The solid-colored trade blanket [321]
replaced the buffalo robe both as an outer garment and as a bed [415]
covering. Not until collectors of ethnological specimens began
to encourage veterans of the intertribal wars to record their [492]
war deeds on skins (in the 1890's) was there a slight revival of [291]
the decadent old art of robe painting. However, owners of 178
painted lodges readily transferred their religious symbols from
worn buffalo-skin tipi covers to new canvas ones. 532

For a few years after the buffalo were gone, restless young 721
men continued to raise small war parties to raid enemy camps
in quest of horses. In 1881–82 a serious mange epidemic killed 231
many Piegan-owned horses. Agent Young estimated that "about
half of the horses these Indians owned died."[4] Young men, set 721
afoot as a result of this plague, redoubled their efforts to obtain
mounts in traditional forays against the Crows, Crees, and Assiniboins. But times had changed for horse raiders also. They had to leave home secretly at night to avoid being caught and detained by their own Indian Police. On their outward journeys they could find little to eat. Sometimes they went without food for days. Sometimes they begged some food from the ranch houses of white cattlemen. They were lucky indeed if they could kill an antelope or a few rabbits. If they did reach an enemy camp and run off some horses, they risked being overtaken on their way home by troops from Fort Shaw or Fort Assiniboine and having their stolen horses taken from them. Even after they reached home, the horses might be confiscated by the Indian Police.

The "medicine line" continued to serve as a convenient escape 727

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[4] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, 100.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1880-1900]

Short Face, one of my elderly informants, recalled that this unsympathetic 177
agent sentenced Indians who cut off their fingers in mourning 657
or built a sweat lodge to thirty days in jail. He even threatened 689
to jail women who did beadwork.

Such efforts to force the Indians to abandon their traditional
ceremonies and customs served only to rouse the Indians' resentment. 177
After the persecuting agents were replaced, the Piegans 657
resumed the forbidden practices with even greater zeal. Under
less hostile agents they revived and continued the sun dance, 177
making only one concession to the interests of the whites. They 796
moved the ceremony ahead several weeks so it would coincide with the white man's July 4 holiday season. In 1900 boys were playing hooky from Willow Creek School to visit the picturesque sun dance encampment near by.[23]

Often visitors from neighboring tribes formerly hostile to the
Blackfeet visited the sun dance encampment. These visits were 177
accompanied by exchanges of gifts between the visitors and
their hosts. The Assiniboins from the east gave the Piegans shiny 431
catlinite pipe bowls, beautifully made buckskin suits decorated 276
with porcupine quillwork, and breastplates and necklaces of 292
bone hairpipes. Piegan women admired the feather designs employed 301
in Assiniboin quillwork and copied them in their own 531
beadwork. The Assiniboins also gave some Piegan men flowing
feather bonnets of the Sioux type, which became very popular 177
with Blackfoot leaders for ceremonial wear and for dress-parade 292
headgear. By the turn of the century, some Piegan men were making these bonnets as skillfully as the Sioux craftsmen. The traditional straight-up bonnet of the Blackfeet was becoming obsolete.

From the Assiniboins in the mid-nineties the Piegans also acquired 177
the grass dance, a lively, young men's social dance with 535
its associated paraphernalia of deer hair roaches and hawk bells which jingled merrily as the dancers cavorted.

Friendly Crow Indians gave the Piegans moccasins and pendants 177
of human hair which could be worn by a short-haired In- 291
302

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[23] *Ibid.*, 1900, 267.

492 semble the saddle. She placed one skin on top of the other so that
281 their edges were in contact, then sewed the skins together in two nearly parallel lines of soft skin or rawhide cord extending lengthwise of the center. She then began to sew the edges of the top and bottom skins together with sinew thread, leaving sufficient openings at each side to stuff the saddle before completely closing the edges. Buffalo or deer hair were preferred for stuffing, although some women used grass for that purpose.

The pad saddle illustrated in plate 2, *a*, [A] shows the basic pattern and decoration. This specimen (U. S. N. M. No. 2656) was collected by Capt. Howard Stansbury in 1849, and labeled "Black Feet Indians of the Rocky Mountains." It measures 16⅜ inches long and 14 inches wide through the center and weighs 1 pound 5 ounces. In 1947, I showed photographs of this specimen to elderly Blackfoot Indians. They pronounced it typical of pad saddles used by Blood and Piegan
492 men in their youth. This specimen is decorated with porcupine-quill
531 rosettes and quilled lozenges in each corner. Pendent from the lower border of the saddle near each corner are two quilled skin pieces separated by quill-wrapped skin thongs. The edge seam joining the bottom and top skins is covered with quillwork. Informants recognized this as the usual pattern of decoration of old Blackfoot pad saddles. However, in their youth the same pattern was worked out more frequently in beadwork.[48]

492 From the center of each side extend U-shaped tabs used for fastening the girth to the saddle. The most common girth was a rawhide strap 2 to 4 fingers wide, doubled over the tab on the left side of the saddle and sewn with sinew, passed under the barrel of the horse and secured to the tab on the right side of the saddle with a rawhide latigo strap. Less common girthing was obtained by suspending soft skin straps from each tab and tying them under the horse's belly. Informants believed the saddle illustrated was either ridden without stirrups or the stirrups were suspended from the same tabs as the girth. In their youth most pad saddle riders used stirrups. Some Blackfoot pad saddles were equipped with a second pair of small tabs, located forward of the girth tabs, from which the stirrup straps were suspended. Many pad saddles had a rectangular, transverse piece of rawhide 4 inches or more in width across the center of the saddle and sewn to the skin base. This piece hung down at the sides far enough to conceal the girth tabs. In some cases holes

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[48] A Piegan "sattel mit quill," collected by Maximilian in 1833, formerly in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (No. IV B 110) may have been of the pad-saddle type. Edward Harris, who accompanied Audubon to the Upper Missouri in 1843, collected a Blackfoot pad saddle, which is now in the Museum of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Ala. It is similar in pattern and decoration to the specimen collected by Captain Stansbury.

A [See category 492, p. 358-A--Analyst]

hitch to make this tie, leaving the end tucked back so that it could be 492
pulled out quickly in taking off the saddle. Horses always were [284]
saddled from the right side.[80]

A feature of the wood saddle that puzzled some informants was the spike in the front of the pommel. Double-Victory-Calf-Robe said [177]
this spike was "Crow style" taken over by the Blackfoot. She had heard that Blackfoot women's saddles of the early 19th century did not have this feature. Mrs. Cree Medicine claimed the spike served solely as a hook on which to hang the whip. Three Calf thought its main purpose was to indicate which end was the front of the saddle. Wissler has explained the use of the hook for the suspension of a rawhide seat which was attached at the back of the cantle by a wooden pin passed through a loop in the rawhide cover. He said "the hook has apparently become conventional, because it is found on saddles where the support is not used and the eye is wanting, though these are said to be degenerate forms" (Wissler, 1910, p. 94). Judging from the differences of opinion among my older informants regarding the function of the hook and the absence of any mention of the eye or seat, it would appear that the suspended seat was uncommon among the Blackfoot in the last two decades of buffalo days.[81]

Wood saddles were decorated with buckskin fringes pendent from 492
the disks of both pommel and cantle, or with long, triangular beaded
or quilled flaps suspended from the outer margins of these disks. 531
Some women decorated their saddles by driving round-headed brass tacks into the pommel and cantle.

Blackfoot and Blood informants regarded the wood saddle as a 492
woman's saddle. It was used on the travois, and sometimes on pack horses, as well as on riding horses. However, men did not ride the wood saddle, unless they had no pad or "prairie chicken snare" saddle.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE "WOOD SADDLE"

The distinguishing characteristics of the "wood saddle" are 492
found in the pommel and cantle. They are of carved wood, and are 177
of the same design, the cantle being the same form as the pommel in reverse. A characteristic of the Blackfoot "wood saddle," the large, flattened disk-shaped, horizontal projections of the pommel and cantle, is also found in the "wood saddles" of other northern Plains

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[80] An examination of the Plains Indian saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum to which the rigging is attached shows that this was a widespread Plains Indian custom. [171]

[81] With this feature in mind, I have examined the saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum known to have been made and collected before the buffalo disappeared. [127]
The majority of these Plains Indian saddles have neither suspended seats nor provisions for the pins in the backs of the cantles necessary for their use, although nearly all the wood saddles have hook projections on the pommels. [171]
Since Indian women generally placed a buffalo robe over their saddles before mounting, the need for a suspended rawhide seat seems questionable.

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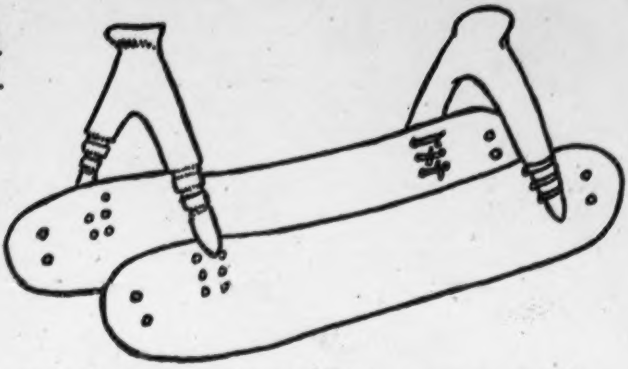

FIGURE 15.—Construction of a "prairie chicken snare saddle," Blackfoot.

492 hide flaps to the centers of pommel and cantle. Holes were punched in the flaps and, after the load was in place, a rawhide line was passed back and forth over the pack and through these holes and tied to hold
● [531] the load securely and prevent its shifting. This saddle^A was never decorated. It could be made with less time and effort than either the pad or wood saddle. Thus it was less valuable. These factors undoubtedly encouraged its wide use.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE "PRAIRIE CHICKEN SNARE SADDLE"

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171 There is every reason to believe that the "prairie chicken snare saddle" is not an old type among the Plains Indians. Alexander Henry made no mention of it in his description of Blackfoot saddles in 1809. Bradley, writing in the 1870's, was the first to mention the use of elkhorn in Blackfoot saddle construction. This saddle type does not appear in the works of artists who interpreted the Plains Indians from personal observations in the field prior to 1850. Kurz did not illustrate it in his many representations of saddles seen by him among the Upper Missouri tribes in 1851-52. In his description of the Cheyenne use of this saddle type, Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 207) termed it a comparatively modern invention of the Kiowa, from whom the Cheyenne learned how to make it.

If we may credit this explanation of the origin of the "prairie chicken snare saddle," we must recognize that the type spread rapidly over the Plains and deep into the Plateau as far as the Sanpoil and Thompson (Ray, 1932, p. 118; Wissler, 1915, fig. 20). Its use by Coeur d'Alene, Plains Cree, and Teton Dakota has been reported

A [i.e., a "prairie chicken snare saddle"--Analyst]

492 jority of the members of the tribe continued to use native-made saddles until stock saddles were issued to them by the Government in the
177 early Reservation Period.[88]

SADDLE BLANKETS

492 Blackfoot riders placed blankets of skin under all types of saddles to prevent their saddles from chafing the horses' backs. In 1809,
237 Alexander Henry reported, "Under each kind of saddle are placed two or three folds of soft dressed buffalo skin, to keep the horse from getting a sore back" (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 527). In my informants' youth the Blackfoot preferred a saddle blanket made from the shoulder of a buffalo where the hair was long, or the breast where the hide was thickest. Most people used an undecorated hide with the hair on, rectangular in shape. The blanket was either doubled, hair side out, with the fold at the front of the saddle, or single thickness with the hair side next to the horse. Usually the blanket extended 2 or 3 inches beyond the saddle at front and back. Blankets placed under pack saddles were longer, in order to prevent the horse's back from being rubbed by any part of the load. The dou-
[531] bled blanket sometimes was ridden without a saddle. Some saddle blankets of single thickness were decorated with red-flannel edging all around, or a double edging comprising an outer border of red flannel about 3 fingers wide and an inner border of white cloth 1 finger wide.[89]

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[171] [88] Other Plains and Plateau tribes appear to have followed the practice of using Spanish or American saddles whenever they could procure them. Lewis and Clark found some Spanish saddles among the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 520, 569). Jacques d'Eglise reported "saddles . . . in Mexican style" used by the Mandan in 1792 (Nasitir, 1927, p. 55). Scattered through the records of the American Fur Co. (papers in the N. Y. Historical Society) are listings of saddles bought by Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis. Sufficient quantities are listed to indicate that the saddles were purchased for the Indian trade and not merely for the use of field employees of the company. Maximilian (1833) said that the Mandan "sometimes obtain saddles from the whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 345). These may have been of the California saddle type, which Marcy termed the favorite of the mountain men (Marcy, 1859, pp. 113–120), and which seems to have been pictured in a number of Kurz' drawings of fur traders and a few Indians of the Upper Missouri in 1851–52 (Kurz, 1937). One of the most interesting saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum is a U. S. Cavalry saddle reported to have been taken from Indians who had participated in the Custer Massacre, 2 weeks after that event. The Indians had stripped it of its commercial leather rigging and equipped it with Indian-made stirrup straps, stirrups, and cinch (Cat. No. 59,741). However, many Plains Indian saddles obtained in the field before the end of buffalo days have parts (rigging straps, stirrup straps, and/or girths) of commercial leather or cloth, in addition to metal girth rings, obtained from Whites. Some of the saddles bearing the earliest dates of collecton have the most commercial leather used in their rigging. It seems apparent that Indians tried to adopt as much of the white man's saddlery as they could afford. If they had not the means to obtain a trade saddle, perhaps they could at least acquire, strong, long wearing, trade materials for rigging their native saddles. In view of these circumstances it is impossible to date Indian saddles on the basis of the degree of acculturation shown by their rigging. Some of the specimens employing only native materials probably are of more recent manufacture than many specimens using trade materials in their construction.

[171] [89] The Blackfoot did not make the fancy saddle cloth of soft skin or canvas with heavily beaded borders such as were used by the Teton Dakota, Crow, Cheyenne, Ute, and Shoshoni

SADDLE HOUSINGS

"When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it," wrote Alexander Henry of the Blackfoot in 1809 (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 526). 492 237 This practice was continued until the end of buffalo days. A buffalo robe was folded and placed over the center of the "prairie chicken snare saddle" or the "wood saddle" before the rider mounted. By the time this thick padding was added to the wood saddle the lofty pommel and cantle did not appear so high. The buffalo robe seems to have been the most common housing for frame saddles among the Plains tribes. In recent years Blackfoot women riding the wood saddle or even the stock saddle in Fourth of July parades have thrown a large, trade blanket over the saddle and modestly tucked the pendent ends around their legs to conceal them.

In my informants' youth young men liked to drape a mountain-lion skin over their pad saddles as a housing. This showy skin was arranged so that the animal head fell over one side, the tail the other. Maximilian (1833) observed Blackfoot fondness for mountain-lion skin saddle housings. He noted that the skin was edged with a broad band of scarlet cloth, and that the Blackfoot valued it at a good horse or seldom less than $60. [531] [435] Bodmer's excellent lithograph of a Blackfoot man on horseback illustrates the use of the mountain-lion skin housing at that time (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 107, and Atlas, pl. 19).[54]

MARTINGALES AND CRUPPERS

Martingales and cruppers had both practical and ostentatious value for the Blackfoot. 492 They were used on the travois or pack horse to keep the load from slipping. [531] Men generally used cruppers on riding horses only when traveling in mountainous country to hold the saddle in place. When moving camp or when on parade the favorite wives of wealthy men liked to dress up their horses with showy martingales and cruppers. 492 531 The prevalence of elaborately decorated martingales and cruppers in the Fourth of July parade at Browning and at the Calgary Stampede in recent years is no indication of their com- [541] [178]

(Wissler, 1915, fig. 18, p. 17). However, I have found no description of the use of such cloths in the early accounts of those tribes. Those elaborately decorated cloths probably were late 19th century developments. The buffalo-skin saddle blanket seems to have been the most common type among the Plains tribes. However, the Plateau tribes, who had less access to buffalo, used saddle blankets of deer, bear, or mountain goat skin, or of woven matting (Teit, 1900, p. 258; 1909, p. 534; 1930, p. 111; Ray, 1932, p. 118; Turney-High, 1941, p. 72). [492] [531] [171]

[54] Maximilian said the Crow followed the same custom (ibid., vol. 22, p. 349). [237] Opler (1941, p. 396) was told that the Chiricahua Apache liked to drape a mountain-lion skin over the saddle bag to make it look nice, and that they followed Mexican example in this practice. Whether the Mexican custom goes back to the Colonial Period has not been determined. [171]

492 monness in buffalo days. In former times those objects^A were indices of their owner's wealth and status.

531 Bodmer illustrated a fancy crupper on a Blackfoot man's horse [541] in 1833 (Maximilian, 1906, Atlas, pl. 19). However, the earliest pic- [178] torial representation of the elaborately decorated martingale and crup- [559] per combination I have seen appears in Sohon's 1855 field sketch, "The Bloods Come in Council" (pl. 4).^B In size and shape the pieces portrayed by Bodmer and Sohon resemble specimens collected in more recent years. Bradley (1870's) stated that the Blackfoot woman's ornamental crupper had a fringe of horsehair to the lower ends of which little bells were attached. In my informants' youth cut buckskin fringes were also used. The ornamental crupper had a soft skin or trade flannel base. It was decorated with beadwork or (if of skin) in angular painted designs "something like a parfleche design." In more recent times (since ca. 1875) floral designs, combined with the double-curve have been employed commonly. Martingales were similarly ornamented (Wissler, 1915, fig. 15; Ewers, 1945 b, figs. 61-63).

492 Much more common in buffalo days were martingales and cruppers of narrow bands of rawhide, used on the riding horses of both sexes and on pack animals. The martingale was a rawhide band about 3 fingers wide, tied to the prongs of the pommel of the wood saddle by rawhide cords. The crupper was a single or double strip about the same width throughout most of its length, extended by means of a grass-padded loop, strengthened with soft skin binding, under the horse's tail. It was tied to the front or rear horn prongs of the frame [531] saddle with buckskin cord (fig. 16). Some women painted the sur-

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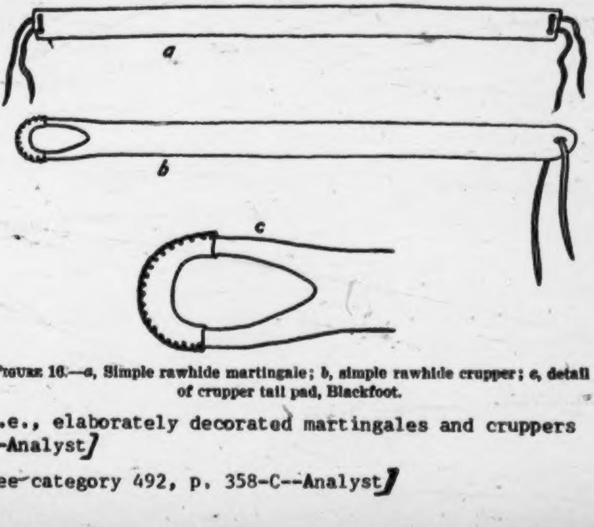

FIGURE 16.—a, Simple rawhide martingale; b, simple rawhide crupper; c, detail of crupper tail pad, Blackfoot.

A [i.e., elaborately decorated martingales and cruppers --Analyst]

B [See category 492, p. 358-C--Analyst]

faces of these rawhide martingales and cruppers in geometric designs. 492
Weasel Tail said the first crupper he used as a young man (ca. 1875) [531]
was a white man's harness crupper obtained in trade.[55] [177]

WHIPS

Maximilian (1833) observed, "In general every Blackfoot carries a whip as well as weapons in his hand" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 103). Bradley (1870's) wrote, "They were unacquainted with spurs, but used a whip consisting of a wood, bone or horn handle, some fifteen inches long, and a double lash of rawhide, from twenty to twenty-four inches long. A loop of skin was attached to the handle of the whip, by which it was suspended to the wrist" (Bradley, 1923, p. 263). These measurements agree closely with Wissler's measurements of Blackfoot handles and lashes on specimens collected a half century ago (Wissler, 1910, p. 96).

Informants pointed out that whips were kept in the possession of mounted Indians at all times. They might serve as weapons in a fight. 411
Men also found their whips useful implements for beating their wives if they misbehaved.

Generally men and women made their own whips. Thoughtful 492
makers permitted the leather of the wrist hanger to extend farther

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[55] The elaborately beaded horse collar made by the Crow and some Plateau tribes in the [711]
late years of the 19th century (Douglas, 1937; Lowie, 1922 b, p. 314, fig. 12; Teit, 1930, [531]
p. 354, fig. 37) probably was a late development. Catlin's illustration of a Crow man mounted for participation in a sham battle at the Hidatsa villages in 1832, portrays a fancy martingale similar to the Blackfoot type. The same illustration shows an elaborate crupper, which the author described as "embossed and fringed with rows of beautiful shells and porcupine quills of various colors (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pl. 76, p. 192). Alfred Jacob Miller depicted a fancy crupper decorated with quills and beadwork in his illustration of a Sioux woman on horseback in 1837 (Ross, 1951, pl. 72). He portrayed elaborately fringed cruppers on women's horses in other illustrations of the same year (ibid., pls. 9, 96, 131, 188). In 1851, Kurz (1937) drew decorated cruppers on horses belonging to Potawatomi, Omaha, Iowa, and Crow. Hillers' 1873 photograph of a Uintah Ute woman on horseback shows an elaborate crupper and martingale similar to ones used by Blackfoot women (Steward, 1939, pl. 80). An Omaha decorated crupper of the period 1855, is illustrated in Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 48. Mooney collected a painted and beaded skin crupper from the Kiowa (Cat. No. 152,829, U. S. N. M.). However, my Kiowa informants said the most common crupper in their tribe was of rawhide 2 inches wide.

Undoubtedly the greater attractiveness of decorated cruppers of elaborate design caused collectors to secure them in preference to the simple rawhide ones for museum collections. Fortunately, however, the series of Plains Indian saddles in the U. S. National Museum includes many cruppers that were attached to saddles obtained prior to 1880. The majority of these cruppers are of rawhide, painted or unpainted, much like the common form of Blackfoot crupper described above. A few are of commercial leather, including a Teton Dakota specimen obtained after the Slim Buttes Battle in 1876, which is obviously a white man's harness crupper complete with metal buckles (Cat. No. 276,607).

It seems unlikely that the use of martingales and cruppers was an Indian invention. The elaborate ones may be adaptations of Spanish-Mexican pieces such as the ones illustrated in the Codex Baranda (Wissler, 1915, p. 38). The more simple, rawhide ones may have been adapted from those in use among the fur traders in the Plains and Rockies in the second quarter of the 19th century. Miller's (1837) illustrations show the simple crupper in place on the horses of many fur traders as well as a few Indian-owned horses (Ross, 1951). Kurz (1937, pl. 32) shows the simple crupper on a trader's horse sketched August 28, 1851.

> 492 714 lower jaw; both parts were profusely decorated with red, yellow, and blue feathers. We were told that such a headdress as this was, in Indian estimation, worth a couple of horses. [Wilson, 1887, p. 190.]

In the eighties, Frederic Remington, the artist, saw "the equipment of a Blackfoot war pony, composed of a mask and bonnet gorgeous with red flannel, brass tack heads, silver plates and feathers . . ." (Remington, 1889, p. 340). Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) reproduced native drawings of masks employed in the "riding big dance" by the Piegan.[87]

492 [531] [541] I have seen a single example of Blackfoot horse headgear. It was a beautiful mask made of a single piece of skin entirely covered with porcupine-quill work, which fitted over the forehead and face of a horse. Holes were cut for the eyes. This specimen, which was probably not over 50 years old, was said to have been used by the Piegan in dress parades. It was owned by the late Mrs. John B. Monteith of Glacier Park Station, who showed it to me in 1942.

BODY PAINT

492 231 [703] [727] [535] The Blackfoot favored red paint for decorating the bodies of their horses. Some young men daubed round spots on both hips of their horses solely for ornament. If a man ran over an enemy while riding in battle he was privileged to paint a hand on both shoulders of his war horse. Just before a returning horse-raiding party entered their home camp, its members stopped to paint red, horizontal lines across the foreheads of their stolen horses. Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) has described and reproduced native drawings of body painting on horses in the "riding big dance."[88]

MANE AND TAIL ORNAMENTS

492 A Blackfoot on the warpath braided the tail of his horse part way, tied the end of the tail in a knot, and fastened a feather in it with a buckskin cord. Weasel Tail claimed the three Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, and Sarsi all followed this practice so they could tell their horses from those of their enemies. In the summer of 1942,

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[170] [87] In 1806 Alexander Henry accompanied an Hidatsa trading party to a Cheyenne village. When they neared their destination some of the Cheyenne rode out to meet them on fine horses some of which "were masked in a very singular manner, to imitate the head of a buffalo, red deer, or cabbrie with horns, the mouth and nostrils—even the eyes—trimmed with red cloth. This ornamentation gave them a very fierce appearance (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 377). Whether the elaborate Blackfoot and Cheyenne horse headgear was in any way influenced by Spanish horse armor is problematical. Certainly the horned feature appears to have been a native invention.

[171] [88] Lewis and Clark noted that among the Lemhi Shoshoni visited in 1805, "a favorite (horse) is frequently painted" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 563). Teit claimed Flathead "horses were often painted" (Teit 1930, p. 353). An Omaha man "frequently painted his horse to represent a valorous act . . . or in a manner intended as a representation of a vision" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 352–353.)

In the summer of 1942,
I saw an elderly Piegan tie two feathers in the tail of the horse of 492
a middle-aged man which was to be ridden in the Fourth of July
parade at Browning. (This ornament is now in the Denver Art Mu- [541]
seum, Cat. No. FB1-95-G.) The old man then said a short prayer [782]
that the horse might not fall or throw its rider. This also is said
to have been an old Blackfoot custom.[illegible]

DECORATION OF WOMEN'S HORSES

A wealthy Blackfoot took pride in providing his favorite wife with 492
fancy trappings for her riding horse, to be employed when visiting
neighboring camps or other friendly tribes, and when moving to the 556
Sun Dance encampment. These trappings, including decorated
bridles, martingales, cruppers, saddlebags, and the finest painted raw- [531]
hide containers obtainable, were thought to enhance the woman's
appearance on horseback.

[illegible] Lewis and Clark (1805) noted Lemhi Shoshoni practice of decorating the manes and [171]
tails of their horses with feathers (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 568.) The Crow claimed they tied up their horses' tails to make them run faster (Marquis, 1928, p. 114). Omaha young men occasionally "decked the manes and tails of their horses with bright ribbons or bands painted in gay colors" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 353).

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dressed skin about 60 inches long by 24 inches wide. This piece was doubled on the long dimension and the edges sewn together. A longitudinal slit, cut in the center of its length, served as the opening of the bag. Long, cut fringes (15 inches or more in length) were sewn to the ends of the bag. According to the Blackfoot ideal these fringes should be long enough to fall below the horse's belly when the bag is in place across the horse's back. In earlier times, probably before 1870, these bags were decorated with panels of painted or quilled de-
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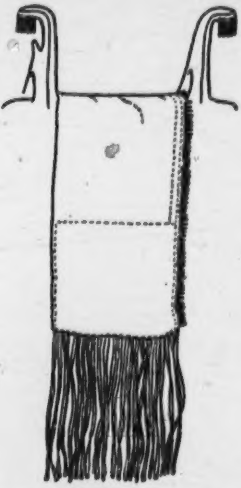

Figure 22.—Double saddlebag thrown over a woman's saddle for transportation, Blackfoot.

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signs in rectangular areas the width of the pendent sides. Specimens of more recent manufacture have these panels in beadwork over a background of red or black flannel.

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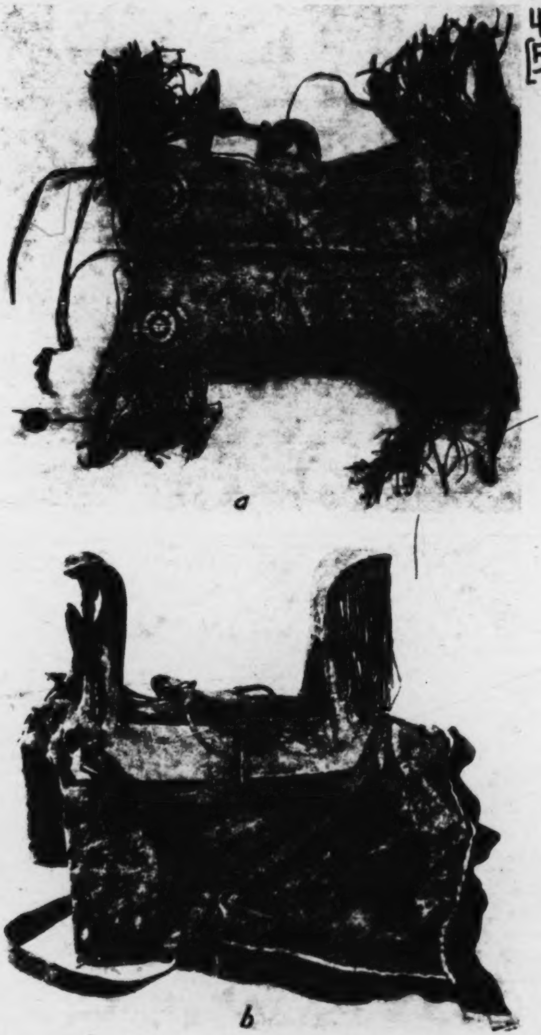
Double saddlebags were transported in either of two ways. Most commonly they seem to have been thrown over the center of the woman's saddle, hanging an equal distance at each side (fig. 22). The rider threw a buffalo robe over the bag then mounted on top of it. Thus the distance between the pommel and cantle of the woman's saddle determined the proper width of the saddlebag (about 12 inches). Less commonly the saddlebag was placed over the cantle of the saddle through the slit opening at the center of the bag. A little over half its width then rested on the horse's back behind the



a, Man's pad saddle, Blackfoot. (Collected by Capt. Howard Stansbury, 1849. U. S. N. M. No. 2656.) *b*, Woman's "wood saddle," Blood Indians. (Collected by R. N. Wilson, 1897. Chicago Museum of Natural History No. 51752.)

PLATE III

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[492]

FAVORITE CHILD READY FOR THE OWL DANCE

MOUNTED ON A PAINTED HORSE, THE LONG TIME PIPE ON HIS BACK

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HEAD CHIEF'S WIFE IN PAINTED TIPI

353
778
824
796
531

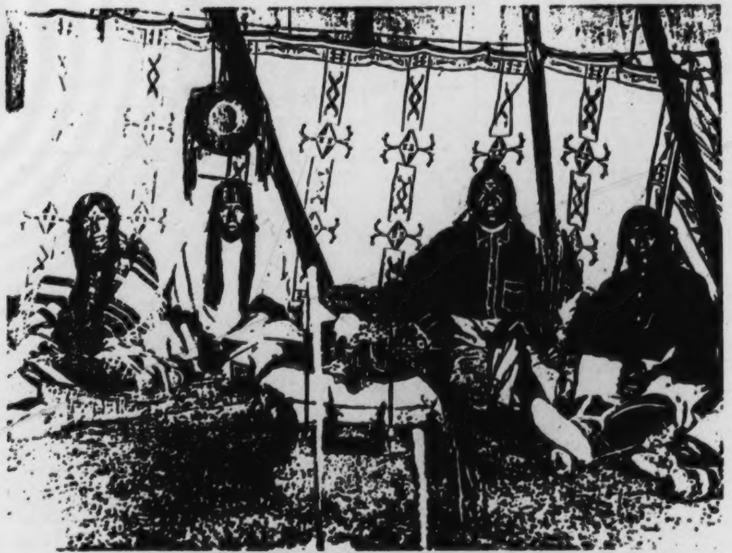

Fig. 3 — Interior of a Blackfoot lodge during a medicine pipe ritual, painted altar and incense smudge in center foreground. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

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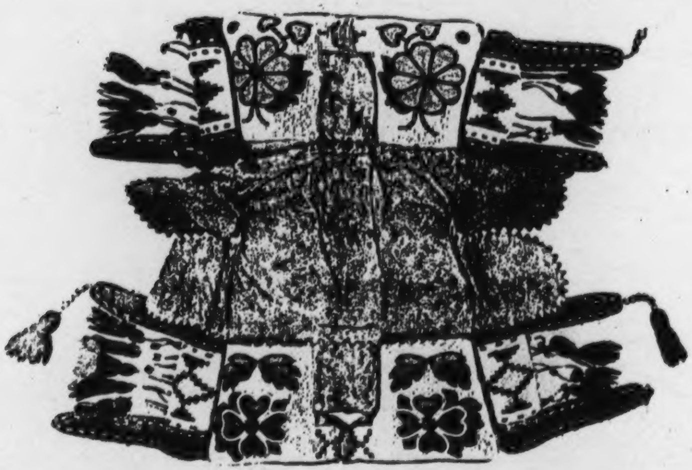

Fig. 34 — A Man's pad saddle of the Blood Indians. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AP 1952.

824 Travois and tipi
335 poles were made from Pinus contorta while the young
[804] trees furnished back-rest poles and bed supports. The back-rest poles were cut about five forearms in length and dried over a fire of rotten logs. One end of the pole was perforated and the other end sharpened. Then a
● [531] stick was inserted through the hole and the pole etched. Later it was
[237]
[211] painted red and blue with buffalo shoulder-blade applicators. Back-rest poles were often notched to record the number of camp moves.

802 Story-sticks were prepared by older men and presented to children in
538
237 return for favors. The sticks were notched to count the number of stories
824 that the man would tell the child. They were often varnished with a solution of boiled hoof and steer phallus and sometimes red ochre was added. Then the stick was polished with a piece of rawhide. Story-sticks were
[342] sometimes used to hang tipi doors.

[824] Wind chimes were made and presented to newly married couples. Little sticks were also prepared and notched to act as fasteners on designated foot-storage bags.

[415] Bowls were fashioned from pine burls (Fig. 35). The process was to
[237] apply grease to the burl, scrape with a rough stone, apply more grease and repeat the process until the bowl was finished. If grease was not used the bowl would crack.

[381] The resin of Pinus contorta was boiled with buffalo phallus and used as
[314]
[237] a glue for headdresses and bows. It was also applied to moccasins for
[294] waterproofing.

824 Polyporus spp.
278

This fungus was often taken from the mountains (stolen occasionally from the Kooteney Indians) or detached from willows. Then it was scraped with a knife and attached to "Weasel-robes" when it could be used in emergency first-aid treatment. It was a styptic on wounds and boiled with Psoralea

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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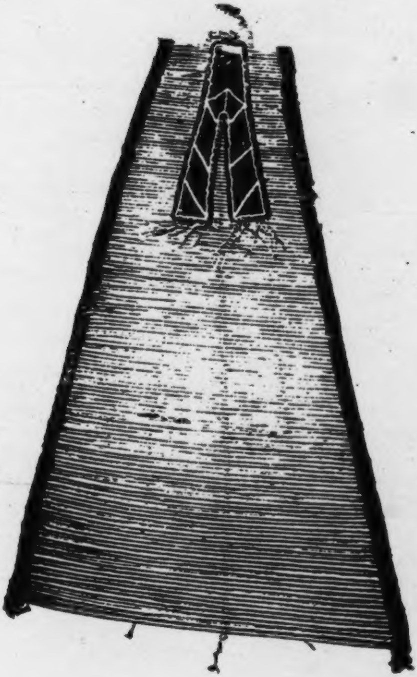

Fig. 36 — Blackfoot back rest or pillow. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be 101
noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was obtained [561]
among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of [575]
the data from other divisions.

THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of members, 561
and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:— 575

- The leader (1)
- The assistant leader (1)
- The bear shirts (2)
- The yellow pigeons (4)
- The pigeons (x)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (4)
- The drummers (4)
- Women members (1)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and 561
carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His 575
face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; 796
that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or
hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four [237]
arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony. [302]

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his distinctive [534]
regalia, a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries
a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He [292]
carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with [411]
yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and
eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply [531]
rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts [237]
of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth [292]
and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops
of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U-shaped [531]
cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed.
There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins
are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1).
The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger [302]
tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at
the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed
straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt [411]
points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and [292]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 373)

561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the
[237] wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.
[292] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
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● [531]

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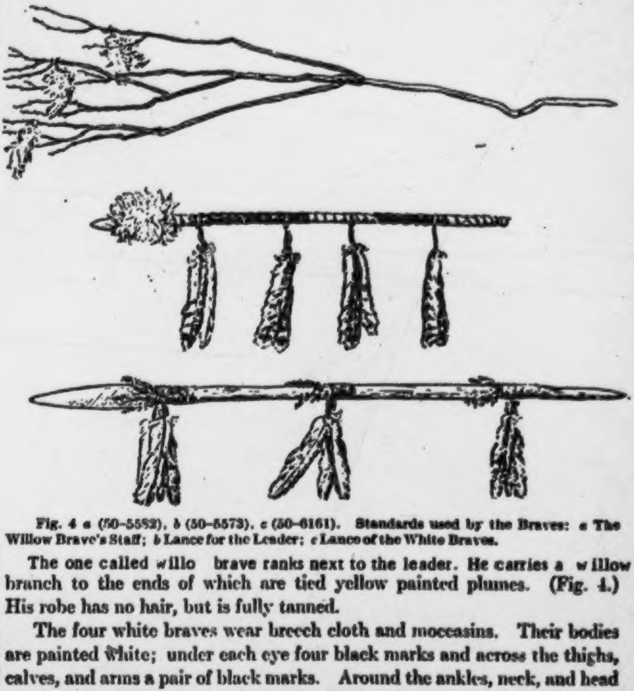

Fig. 4 a (50-5582), b (50-5573), c (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: a The Willow Brave's Staff; b Lance for the Leader; c Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willo brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

[824] The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies
are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[237] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the
[292] corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the
[302] Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white
braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

561 throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both
575 feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn
796 bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

535 These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into
[237] the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it, then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

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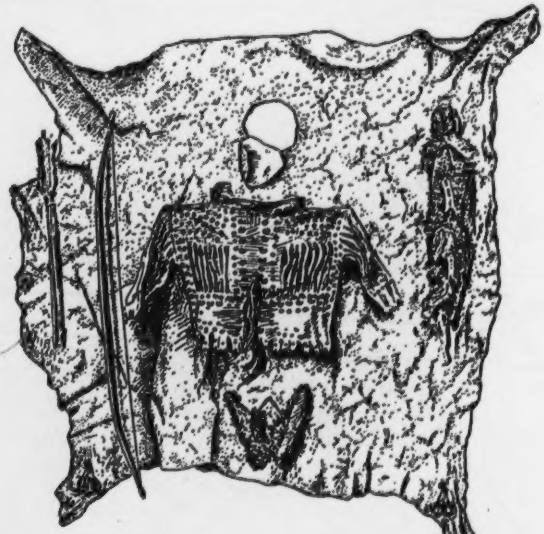

Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

561 moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march
575 back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around
796 the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

[535] This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

[346] At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

561 575 usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-dogs, all at the same time.

796 [432] Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

[114] Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says: —

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

561 575 The organization of this society is as follows:—

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)
- Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)
- All-brave-dogs (20)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (2)
- Drummers (4)

561 575 796 [292] [237] The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail, hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth, and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[302] [237] Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips, neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[534] [411] [292] [237] [531] The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

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[1] Maximilian, 117.

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small 561
horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest 575
the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts 796
made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom [292]
and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the [237]

[531]

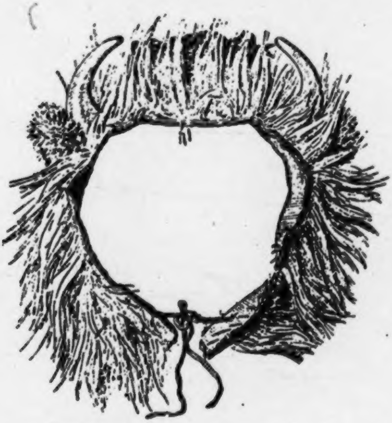

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Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.

[532]

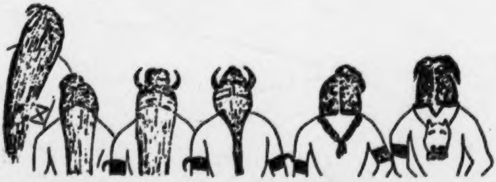

Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The 561
shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, moccasins, 575
a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For paint- 796
ing they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from [292]

[531]
[237]
[411]
[302]

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the cere-
[276] monies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[594] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any par-
ticular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the
ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and
care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and
are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay mem-
[292] bers have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each
wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the paint-
ing upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
● [531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic
significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the
copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the
former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will
count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person
who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this
way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the
various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear
a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to
which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine
costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the
society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the
feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance.
This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]

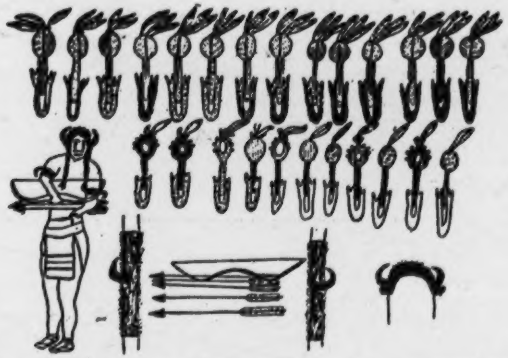

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Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when
on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased
[778]

561 at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a
575 filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the
432 membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is
424 then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership,
a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

561 Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that
575 it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in
174 turn got it from the "Black Indians"(?). On the other hand, no society
of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

THE FRONT-TAILS.

561 Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but
575 there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be
given as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Front-tails (x)
Old men comrades (?)
Single men comrades (?)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)
Women members (?)

561 The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle
575 tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise.
796 Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn
[302] the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or
scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a
[237] stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound
[292] around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue
beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red
[531] cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front."
The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

[302] The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers.
Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

561
575 At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a
796 rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave
432 was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were
to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered
[424] together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to
make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become
[114] members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom
[115] they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have
women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went
[346] with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase.
[237] The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo
dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was
[621] about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members.
Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing
the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first
he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought
that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received
one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge
[302] place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so,
the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down
with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted
across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin
and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times,
[292] and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which
is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge
[237] place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The
[531] strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his
[824] mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is
the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to
[778] be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it
[292] four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds,
[237] and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather,
wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a
[531] buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the
belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times,
told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the
tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all
cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given
him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by
it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he
stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was
brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

561
575 The organization consists of:—

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leader (1)
- Black-raven-bearers (1)
- Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
- Pipe keeper (1)
- Drummers (4)

561 The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to
575 which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of
796 a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he
[292] wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398).[A]
[292] There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According
[237] to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the
[531] skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The
[302] wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the
[302] beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were
[532] also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from
buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

[531] The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members,
[302] except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that
of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

[531] The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed
[237] with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with
[237] red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers
[302] and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the
raven's excrement.

[531] The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black
[531] and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.[1] They paint their faces
[302] red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs
[535] are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry
their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

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[1] Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.

A. [See Category 116, p. 398--Analyst]

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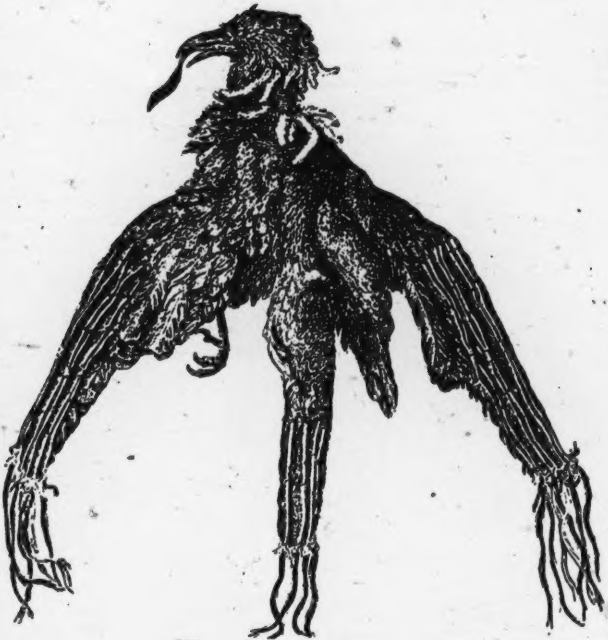

Fig. 13 (50-5419a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

[p. 393]

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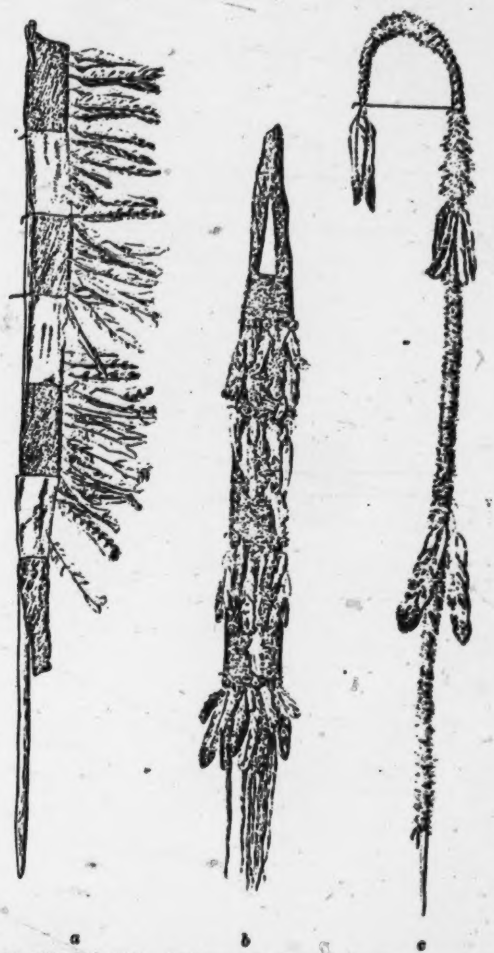

Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

THE DOGS.

561
The organization is as follows:— 575

The Black-Dog (1)
Assistant Leader (1)
The Black-dancers (2)
The Dogs (40)
Old men comrades (2)
Single men comrades (3–4)
Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the [237]
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [531]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl [184]
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [237]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the trans- 575
fer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 796
432
[173]

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the pur-
575 chaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
796 as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

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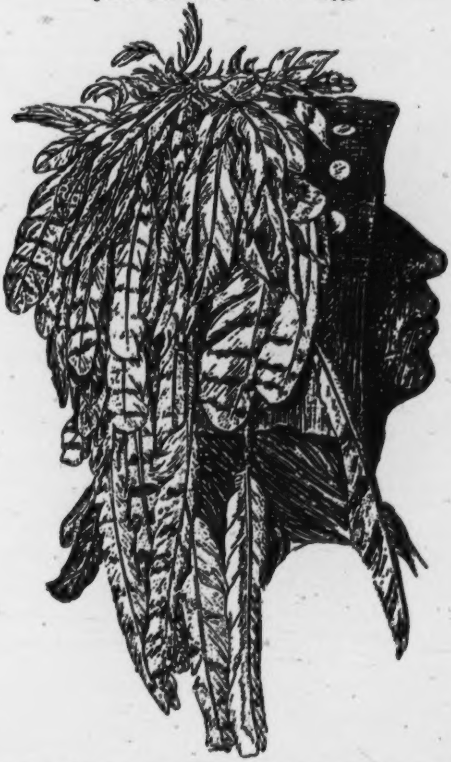

Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

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575

his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the 796
arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that 432
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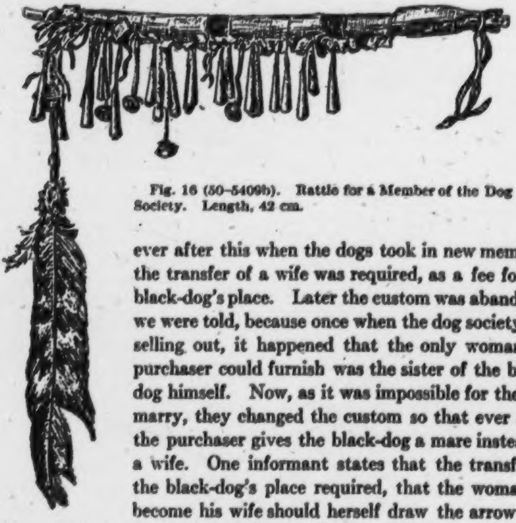

561
575
796
534
237
531 ●

Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, 561
the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the 575
black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned 796
we were told, because once when the dog society was 432
selling out, it happened that the only woman the 173
purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black-dog himself. 582
Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote- 561
brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two indi- 575
viduals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the 124
all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

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[1] See also Curtis, 6, 26.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for 561
men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the
transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four 575
nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes. [432]

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:— [424]

> All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were
younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, [432]
on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in
the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the [424]
owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked
it, the transfer took place.

THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very
powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the societies
of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest
medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. [184]
They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar
secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."[1] In the main it [114]
is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the
other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumerated
later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.[2] We previously [173]
gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following passage.
"She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume
on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."[3] The full import of
this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise 561
account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin 575
of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck 796
and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the
feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip [292]

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[237]

[1] Grinnell, 222.
[2] Curtis, 6, 26. [531]
[3] Vol. 2, 121.

561 of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint."
575 Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow
796 and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was
[292] also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around
the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.
[237] There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and
[531] bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with
[302] yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men com-
[411] rades. They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost
[237] their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had
wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion
[531] of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the
end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14).[A] The butt of
the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel
skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one
of the pair rode a black horse.

[411] Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater
[237] length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places
covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was
[531] called the white lance.

[411] The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped.
They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims
[237] that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small
[531] pipe painted red (p. 413).[B] They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but
[276] must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be
[302] fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their
moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of
[292] sage.

[276] According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes,
or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other
[124] members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this
society, as for the catchers.

[346] For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods
supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the
sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the
opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers.
The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The
[535] lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public
ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their
sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

[A] [See Category 116, p. 394--Analyst]

[B] [See Category 116--Analyst]

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been 561
no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others 575
formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a 796
forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was 535
circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the
leaders to reverse them (p. 412).A When the procession again reached the
starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

> When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made [346]
> them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing
> themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside
> of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief [272]
> wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in [237]
> front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his
> back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and [302]
> inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man,
> carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was [411]
> covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the [531]
> same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes.
> The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other
> members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes [825]
> run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.[1]

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days [539]
are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are
powerful."

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[1] McClintock, 446–447.

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that [292]
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular 778
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535]
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before,
> until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

796 request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner
432 a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring
four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described
276 performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses,
778 blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they
[435] paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were
formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now,
however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact
that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to
add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

561 The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore
575 buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings
[292] were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The
function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct
[531] in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever
[625] there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes
[532] or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered
[411] with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the
ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the
[237] leaders we find the following:— "They carry as their badge a wooden club
[531] the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle."
(117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

[796] In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the
middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of
anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in
most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

[625] When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving
tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which
none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water
on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome
an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken
by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 110) tended to preserve the ritual.

561 The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator
575 warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two
[787] dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

[173] All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when
transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

561 They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side
575 out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished.
292 The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was
531 painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail.
237 Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of
796 the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the
[411] feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint.
As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the
bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood
color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.[1]

[535] The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

561 When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side,
575 but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were
796 placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to
535 the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all.
These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.[2]

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them. At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw
[411] a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

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[114] [1] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

[2] Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same 561
the songs of this society are sung. 575

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still [173]
another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The 561
following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the mem- 575
bers of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man 796
called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and
to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on
a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white 561
earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo 575
head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders 796
292
531●
237
[532]

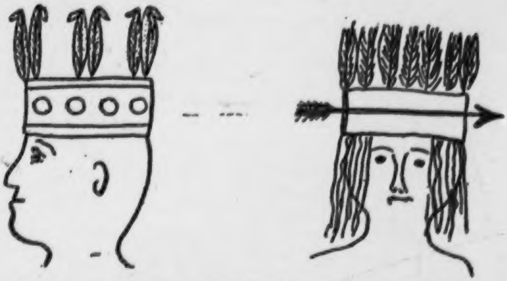


Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while
at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their
tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth
which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore [411]
a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and
feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally
across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and
after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that
were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls.
They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, 561
he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the 575
fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked 796
in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the 796
bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they 535
[372]

BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and con- 561
sistent in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 575
366)[A] shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the 184
all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the
front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two
organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for [346]
their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan
society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The 561
members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth 575
and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were 796
strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a 292
band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An 237
eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns. 531

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoul- [302]
ders. Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside 561
the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he 575
nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restrainment or punishment [125]
of offenders.

A, [See Category 116--Analyst]

THE CATCHERS.

561 575 796 [411] ●[531] [237] The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the leaders. The members carried a curious club, spoken of as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a bunch of buffalo dew claws.

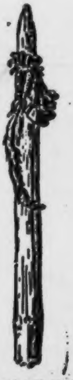


Fig. 18 (50-5410a). Club carried by the Catchers. Blood. Length, 68 cm.

[276] [292] [531] [237] According to one informant the pipestem is covered with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers. The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buffalo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50-4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

[302] The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

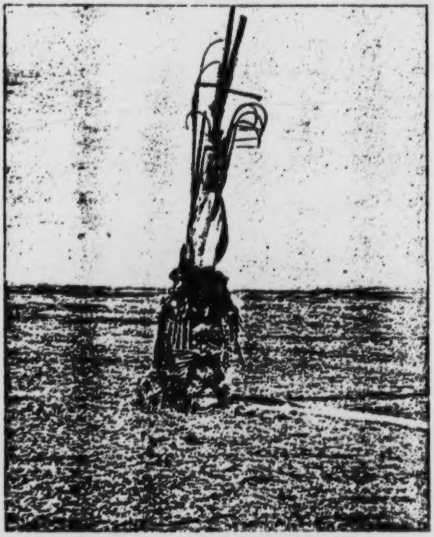
[625] When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

THE HORNS.

561 575 [184] [124] [126] [796] [782] [114] While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken 561
part in the ceremonies:— 575

> The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women.
> It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in [784]
> the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret.
> The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed
> to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so [695]
> great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most
> solemn oath. Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns."



561
575
796
782

Fig. 19. Photograph showing the Offerings of the Horn and Ma'toki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903).

Like other societies the rule is for all the members to sell, or transfer at the same 561
time. This transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women 575
belong, usually husbands and wives, though the latter seem to have a minor part.

There are two male leaders. They wear similar regalia; weasel tail shirts and [292]
leggings with bonnets bearing horns and tails. One of these bonnets bears a small
arrow, sticking straight out in front. (Fig. 20.) [237]

Next in rank are two men wearing "straight-up-bonnets." (One of these was [531]
[796]

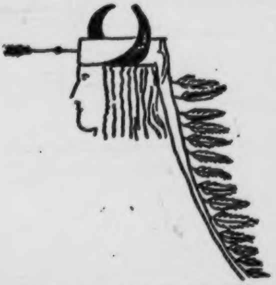
561 secured, Fig. 21.A It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

237 Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
● 531 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
796 sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its
[533] bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black
horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
[302] four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

[411]



[532] Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.
←

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter
561 circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
796 hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the
535 circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set
up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
796 The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A
party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
432 wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the
[346] hunt continues until the required number is secured.

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[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

A.[See Category 116, p. 414--Analyst]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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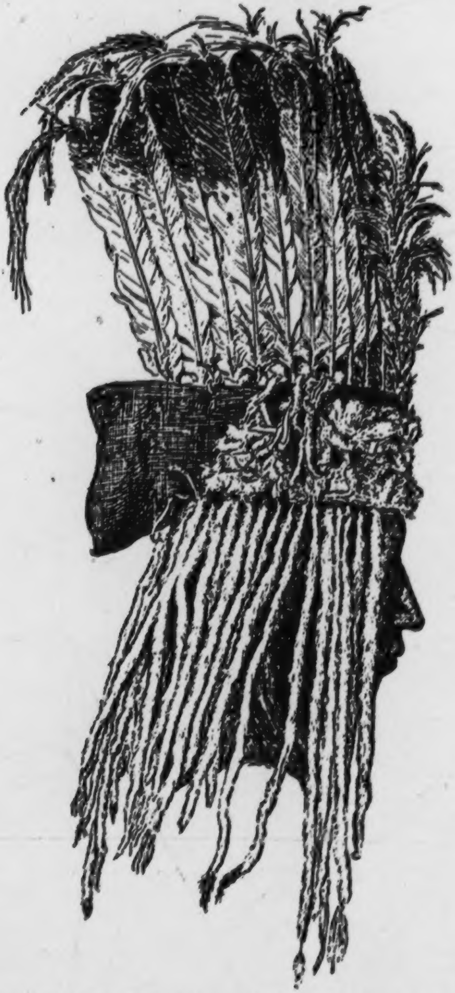

Fig. 21 (50-5400a). A Headdress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561
he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 575
meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 796
scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name 432
of the husband after which the woman enters and spits [784]
the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, [558]
because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted. 561

Our informant never went through this painting 575
ceremony. 796
Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying 531●
that she came to be painted. He told her that he could not 237
because he had not received the necessary instructions. 532
She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man. →

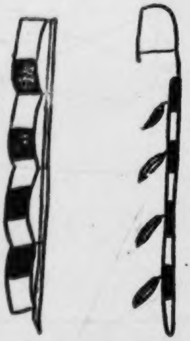

Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling- 561
wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint the entire body red. 575
Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, 796
others wear war-bonnets of several different forms. [292]
The lances, however, are the main objects. [302]
They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. [237]
Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824]
because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These [782]
are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19).A These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782]
offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531]
after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

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[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox. [784]

A,[See Category 116, p. 411--Analysis]

561 On the other hand, we find
575 a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency
to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them
184 again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in
[178] organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other
two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down
of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (siksi'naki), raven-bearers (máesto^{x}pátakiks), dogs (imitaika), horns (i'tskinai), catchers (ii'nika), bulls (sta'meksia pa'skan), and kit-fox (senopa'pasken) were similar to those of the other divisions.

561 As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the
575 Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies
173 we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the
575 regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four
796 old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony
[346] they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi,
sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used
instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the
camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

THE BEES.

561 The society of the bees (namó), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi
575 many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mos-
[173] quitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of
unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band
[302] of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the
[292] abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of
robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue
[531] and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5,
[237] 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of
[422] weasel skin at the back of the head.

[531] A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end,
[237] wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe 561
of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the 575
staff is called the bee lodge.) [237]

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse
stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, [531]
and breech cloths. [302]

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured
by a buckskin thong. [292]

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, [237]
the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing
out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums 561
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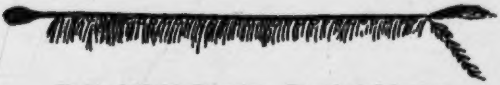

Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant. [531]

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he [532]
rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by [346]
combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and 561
follow. 575

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. [173]
This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We
were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes
and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as
a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken
society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders [422]
who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society [346]

561 meets, the tipis of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two
575 old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members
[346] but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.

[302] The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in
length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feathers.
561 At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers
575 laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers
796 in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one
561 erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping
575 of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders
796 jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.

[531]
[237]

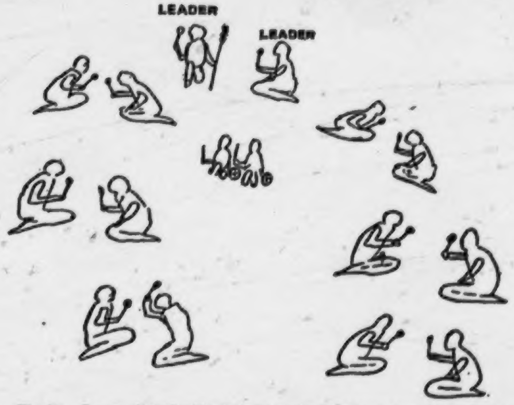

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Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

[531] In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The
[237] members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle.
[535] The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four times as stated above.

561 According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father
575 was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The
173

575 During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with
796 them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The
[782] faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the
[302] center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four
[534] singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle (Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

[535] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her
[292] person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake
[237] bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is
[531] painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby
[535] bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

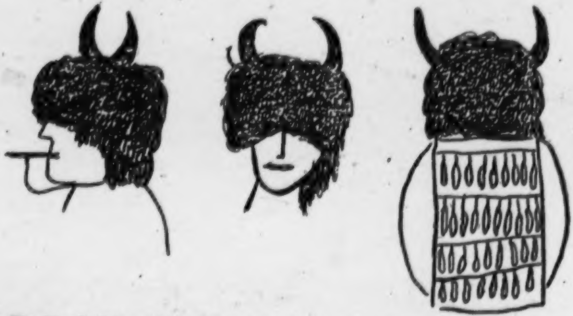
796 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession
575 and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in
535 the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually
575 all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and
432

nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at 796
any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire 575
night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and 432
act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The [424]
most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a proportionate amount of other property are required.



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[302]

Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes 796
on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she dis- 575
places. In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, 432
her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother. Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The [302]
mother then paints the daughter's face.[1]

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[1] The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

794 ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this
769 man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again
and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of
773 the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about
173 to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After
539 some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to
the people.

794 The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and
769 exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and
302 each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

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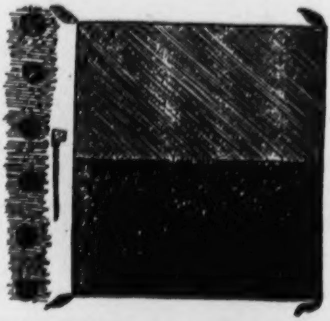

Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

794 There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there
769 any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and
[292] songs. Women dance with the men.

[796] A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to
provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized
794 good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the
769 name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a
796 yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great
535 abundance of food is expected.

[779] The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end.
At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-
[302] brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to
[779]

778 conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already
524 changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing
[422] are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person
winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but
[432] in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in
[302] the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though
[424] the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and
[784] without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating
women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those
present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

778 In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It
524 contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of
each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and
237 were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers.
531 There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a
few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are
four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small
wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel
[824] used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the
smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that
the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

796 The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it
524 prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot
deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a
[778] feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time
after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies
[782] are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When
[755] all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or
house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes
out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one
[302] side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then
prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a
red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in
the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing
[533] sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the
game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

eight games are to be played after which food is served. The two last guessers are 796
required to pass the food.

Before Fish dreamed the stick game, Big-spring gave him a set as a present. 524
After dreaming, Fish gave the first bundle to The-dog-takes-the-gun. The three [173]
men are related and for this reason pass the stick game bundle from one to the other.

Fish dreamed of a man who came to give him the stick game bundle. The 524
dream person carried the bundle on his left arm. His face was painted yellow and 778
dotted all over. In his hair was tied an owl feather. Now, one of the guessers ties
an owl feather in his hair when the game is played. Fish claims the stick game [787]
bundle to be very powerful. If a person be sick he may vow to play with the stick [237]
game owner in order that he may recover. When the game is played, the bundle
owner paints and prays for the person with whom he is to play. On the other hand, [755]
the game must not necessarily be played when anyone is ill but can be played at any
time.

Each stick is decorated with a six-inch owl feather. Two guessing sticks are [237]
wrapped with otter fur and decorated with bells. At each end is a tail-feather used
in guessing. One of the guessing sticks is painted red, the other yellow. Fish only [531]
dreamed one song for the bundle but the rest of the stick game songs go with it.
The same songs are used for the three stick game bundles on the reservation. There [533]
are some twenty of these and ten tapping-the-stick songs. The songs are sung at the beginning of the game, or when either side wins. Four or more cheering songs are sung when dancing after one side has won the game.

When any member of a family is ill, the head of the family may vow to give a 796
feast to the stick game owners so that the sick person may recover. The game takes
place at his home. The owner of the stick game bundle sits at the head of the assembly. 524
There are four or five drummers and four of the tapping-the-stick songs are 755
sung. The owner unties the bundle placing ten of the waving sticks, two hiding
bones, and the guessing stick in one pile, and the rest in a second stack. His face is [302]
painted and a cross is marked on his forehead, on either cheek, and each palm. The players must not cheat during the game. Then he calls on the person giving the feast to feed him. The stick game owner makes a smudge and prays for the person giving
the feast. He paints him and marks a cross on his forehead, each cheek, and the [302]
palms of his hand. The ten waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick are held over the smudge in one hand by the man giving the feast. The owner rubs the man's head and along his sides, meanwhile praying. He repeats the same evolutions with his wife.

The woman spreads a blanket on the ground on which the game is played. An object beaded in yellow on one side and blue on the other is rolled on the blanket until one color is shown three times. The man chooses the blue, the woman the yellow side. Should the yellow be shown three times the woman will accordingly be the one to guess first and vice versa. The man and woman guessing each represent half of the crowd. Each passes the ten sticks as far as they will go on the side for whom they are playing. To win the game one side must obtain all the twenty sticks. During all these preliminaries the tapping-the-stick songs are sung.

In the beginning, two persons are selected to hide the bones. The two (?) who are to play sit in the center facing each other, first passing around the stove or fire as the case may be, the man around the right, the woman the left. Then the stick game songs are sung. Four of the crowd of men, women, and children are selected to play. The man and woman who are to guess pass around the players to the right

535 In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not
575 adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present
are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which
[431] all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford,
horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the
visitors.

[534] There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in
the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of
cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used.
[531] The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated
with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn
to sing and drum.

[292] When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in
a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing
war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have
[431] danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obliga-
tions as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts
to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Be-
fore the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war
deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

[262] Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be
leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the
members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men
give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping.
[681] These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should
bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other
men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers,
announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

[784] Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

[533] There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

535 575 tributed by other members. On the other hand, the Blackfoot transfer conception was recognized, because if a member individually called in an outsider and turned over to him his entire regalia, he thereby himself became an outsider and could not be a member until formally taken in again. It seems safe to guess that we have here a conflict between the traditional Blackfoot way of doing and the rules of the foreign grass dance organization. The active members were men over fifteen years of age but it is usual to regard the organization as a young men's affair.

[292] The regalia employed are almost identical with a Gros Ventre set in the Museum but instead of a "dog fork," the Piegan use a lance or stick. As has been noted the crow belt and the spreading hair headdress are used. These have been described by Kroeber.[1] A matter of special interest is that members formerly each had a miniature bundle, containing a feather or other small ornament which they cared for in the characteristic Blackfoot way. This was kept in a tiny cylindrical rawhide case of the type used for war [778] medicines. As noted in the preceding, there was one particular crow belt that was regarded as a medicine object and which is now owned by a Blood [292] [302] Indian. The face and body painting of the society is optional as is also the costume aside from headdress and crow belts. At present, it is customary to give a public ceremony at the sun dance for which a circle of wagons is made within the southern segment of the camp circle. Many meetings are held during the winter months but these are now almost entirely social affairs.

[778] [777] [121] The reference in Duvall's notes to the great care in handling the first regalia of this society, when such were treated as medicine bundles and the later abandonment of this practice under the tutorship of the Gros Ventre is a fine example of the Blackfoot tendency to adjust everything ceremonial to their scheme of individual ownership and transfer.

[173] So far no definite mythical origin for this ceremony has been encountered except that a Piegan named Three-bears heard that a negro half-breed Dakota was given the dance in a dream, when he saw some chickens dancing. The roosters wore crow belts and large combs, the latter now symbolized by the peculiar roached headdress. Perhaps this is an embryonic myth.

THE HORSE DANCE.

535 [726] A spectacular performance with mounted men goes by the name of horseback dance, or big dance. Its chief function seems to have been the arousal of courage and enthusiasm for war. Those who take part decorate

[531] [231]

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[1] Kroeber, 271.

and paint their horses. Each marks on his horse the guns he has captured. 535
A mark is made with red paint to show that his horse was wounded or killed; 231
or the figure of a man is painted on the breast of the horse to indicate that a 531
man was once ridden down. The horses are also painted in white paint as for war. The tail is tied up and beaded bridles with cross bar sticks, decorated with feathers, are used. Some of the horses have horse bonnets and bells around their collars.

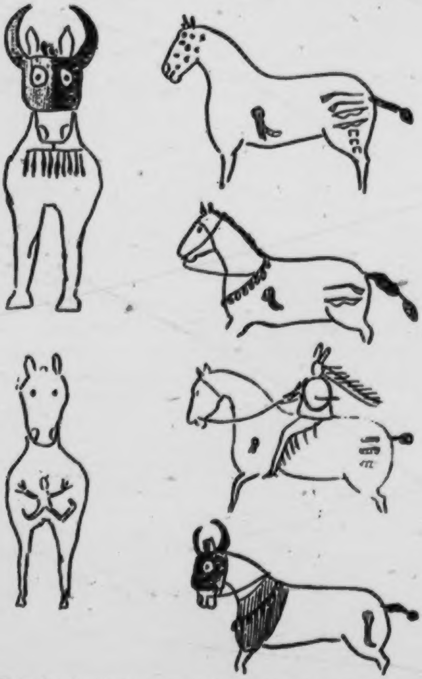

Fig. 29. These sketches show the use of the horse bonnet and the decorations of horses for the horse dance ceremony. One side of a horse bonnet is always painted red, the other blue. The paintings on the horses represent the deeds of the riders. Drawn by Red-plume. [532]

There are no restrictions as to who shall take part in the horse dance, 535
but usually it is the warriors who dance before going to war. The men dress [726]
[292]

575 proposals for camping sites and routes of travel, and selected
622 two or three of the societies to undertake the various duties
for that season. While these were nominally under the control
of the chiefs their duties were so well known that they generally
acted on their own initiative. The leaders of the chosen
societies pitched their tipis in a group in the centre of the
575 camp circle. The members patrolled the camp in turn during
[625] the night. They punished recalcitrant offenders against public
welfare by beating and destruction of property. Some went
[484] ahead when a march began to select the precise site of the next
camp, while others superintended the column of march. The
(224) societies were also mainly responsible for knowing the position
and movements of the buffalo herds and for organizing the
tribal hunts. In any emergency the chiefs could call upon one
or more of them to deal with the situation. They could not,
[578] however, act until they were called upon to do so. The changing
membership, coupled with the rivalry of one with another and
the short season of their activity, averted any tendency to the
permanent seizure of power by one or all of these societies.

The summer camp was the occasion for great ceremonial
[224] activity. A host of feasts and ceremonies followed the short
period of intensive hunting, in which large stores of food were
575 accumulated. With appropriate ritual and after due payment
778 of hide robes and horses, 'medicine bundles' of magical objects
425 and the formulas necessary for their effective use were often
transferred from one man to another. The societies performed
their special dances and rituals, and if the time for purchase and
transfer of society membership was due, great triple tipis were
built in which the lengthy ceremonies of exchange were held.
776 Finally came the great annual ceremony of the Sun Dance at
which individuals and the tribe as a whole sought power and
well-being in a protracted ritual that lasted a week or more.
361 The camp circle broke up shortly after this and the bands
621 moved away in the direction of their winter quarters, which
mostly lay farther to the west in the rougher foothill country.
With the disintegration of the camp there ended also any real
authority of the tribal leaders and councils.

Hides and Skins

237 The buffalo which so dominated the activities of the Black-
foot supplied them with more than meat. Almost every part
[281] of the animal was used. The hide was dressed with the hair
left on to provide heavy winter robes; thinned and with the
hair removed, it was the material for shirts, leggings, moccasins,
tent covers, bags and receptacles of every kind. Cut into
strips it furnished ropes and lines. The hair was used to stuff
[530] pillows and later saddles, and to decorate garments, shields
and quivers.

294 yoke which covered the shoulders. They were then elaborately
291 decorated with strips of weasel skin and with patterns painted
on or worked with dyed strips of the quills of porcupines and
● [531] birds. On journeys and in cold weather leggings of soft hide
suspended from a waist belt were also worn.

The Tipi

342 The cover of the conical tent or tipi was also made of soft buffalo hides. When spread out on the ground it formed an
237 approximate semicircle, which for an ordinary tipi of later times had a radius of thirteen to eighteen feet and required rather more than a dozen skins. The designing of a cover was skilled work, and its sewing with sinew and a bone bodkin was laborious.

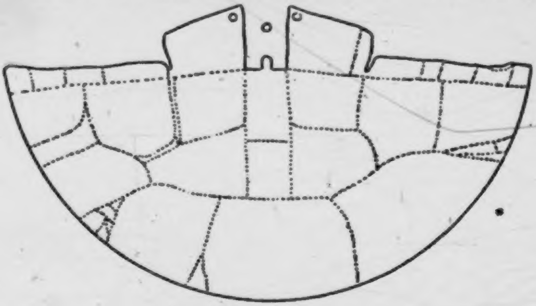

FIG. 19. PATTERN OF A SKIN TIPI COVER
(*After Wissler*)

461 was laborious. When a new one was required the woman
423 gathered a store of food and invited a large group of friends
and relatives to share in the work, for the tipi was the woman's
property, first given her by her family on marriage and always
342 erected by her. The frame was of pine or spruce poles obtained
[824] in the foothills. Four poles, tied together near the tops with
[284] sinew in a secure tipi knot, were first set up in a pyramid. Half
a dozen more were then set between these to form a circle. The last pole was securely lashed at several points to the centre line of the hide cover, which was then raised in position at the rear of the frame, and drawn round from either side to be pinned together down the front. The poles were then adjusted until the cover was drawn tight all round and finally pegged down to the ground, or weighted with stones. Two projecting
[354] tongues of the cover now hung limply down at the top. Through
holes or in pockets in these the ends of two longer poles were thrust so that the flaps stood out as 'ears' which could, by

342 adjusting the poles, be set wide apart, leaving a clear smoke-
[354] hole in fine weather or be drawn together to exclude wind and
rain or to retain heat at night after the fire had died down.
[237] The doorway was a mere slit, often worn oval by use and
covered with a hide curtain outside. In recent times the usual
tipi was about fourteen feet in diameter and about ten feet
high, but some were occasionally over twenty feet and required
more than forty skins for their covers. Before horses were
available to assist in transport the tipis must, however, have
been considerably smaller.

[353] On the inside, a wall or lining strip of hide, four or five feet
[237] high, hung vertically from the poles to which it was lashed.

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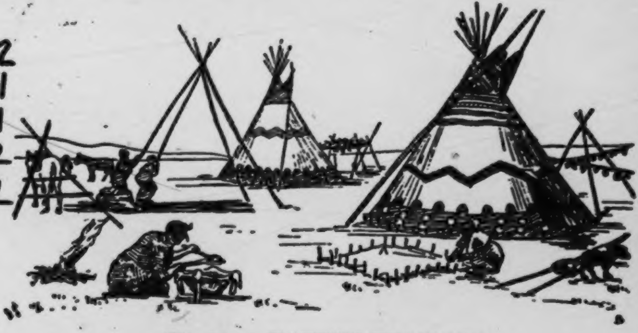

FIG. 20. A BLACKFOOT ENCAMPMENT

342 This excluded ground draughts and provided convenient cup-
[353] board space within. The fire-place, surrounded by a ring of
flat stones, was set below the smoke-hole, usually a little in
front of the centre, since the poles of the back sloped more
[353] steeply than the front. Ceremonial objects and trophies were
placed at the rear behind a second fire-place at which sweet
352 grasses were burned in rituals. The couches of the owner and
his wife were on the left side of the entrance, children and
dependants sleeping on the right. These couches were of dried
grass or twigs covered with soft buffalo hides, and at the head,
and often the foot of each were back rests for reclining during
the day. These were flexible triangular supports of willow
stems arranged horizontally, threaded with leather thongs
suspended from a tripod of wood and pegged down at the head
[531] of the couch. Over them soft dressed skins were thrown. Both
[353] the outside of the tipi and the inner curtains were often

● 531
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353 Hide Bags and Cases
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[531]

decorated with painted geometrical patterns, or had recorded on them in a series of pictographs exploits of their owner.

Hides were also a primary raw material for the household utensils of the Blackfoot. Carrying and storage bags were made of rawhide. The smaller ones were sewn up, but the most characteristic receptacle for large stores of food was the large, flat, rawhide envelope generally known by the trapper's term parfleche. [251]

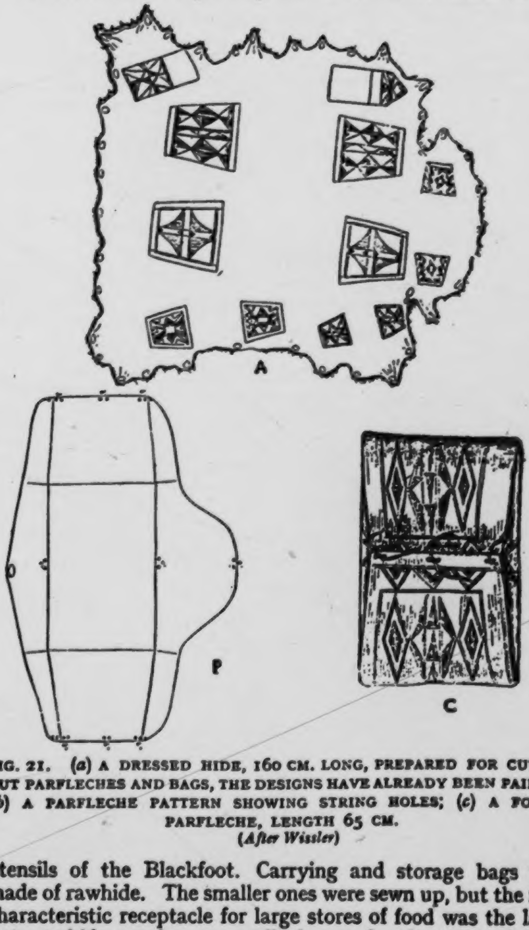

FIG. 21. (*a*) A DRESSED HIDE, 160 CM. LONG, PREPARED FOR CUTTING OUT PARFLECHES AND BAGS, THE DESIGNS HAVE ALREADY BEEN PAINTED; (*b*) A PARFLECHE PATTERN SHOWING STRING HOLES; (*c*) A FOLDED PARFLECHE, LENGTH 65 CM.
(*After Wissler*)

415 *parfleche*. It was rectangular in shape, a yard or more in
237 length, and deep flaps were folded over the rectangle from each
side and lashed together when the contents had been placed
[531] in position. The top flaps of the parfleche were carefully
decorated with symmetrical geometric patterns, which were
very uniform in general style for the Blackfoot as a whole
and distinguishable from the equally standard styles of other
[353] Plains tribes. Cylindrical rawhide cases, with long fringes of
fur or soft hide, often hung from the back-rest tripods in the
[276] tipi and contained ceremonial objects. Elaborately decorated
bags were made from the skins of smaller animals to hold the
pipe outfit, which played an important part both in hospitality
and ceremonial. Water buckets were made from buffalo
paunches and stiffened with willow rings to keep them distended
when hung from a hook.

237 Hide thongs and covers were used in hafting hammers for
284 breaking up small wood and bones, and for cudgels and war
[412] clubs. For the first a handle of flexible willow was wrapped
round the groove pecked in a suitable stone and the whole,
save for the hammering face, covered with green hide cut to
shape and sewed tight with sinew. As it dried the hide shrank
and hardened, making a stout and rigid casing for the tool.
[410] For war clubs the stone head was often wrapped and sewn in
a similar cover and swung loosely from the end of the handle
to which the hide was attached.

415 Although wooden dishes were occasionally made by burning
out and adzing down the knots of the willow trees, the horns of
237 buffalo and mountain sheep provided the most convenient
412 receptacles. Knives of chipped stone were skilfully made, but
buffalo bones, especially ribs, were used for cutting all softer
materials.

237 Fresh paunches and hides were used as vessels for stone boiling
252 meat and soups after a kill of buffalo. The hide was either
depressed in a hollow in the ground or supported round the
[323] margins with short stakes. Cured hides were not suitable for
[415] this purpose, and since they had neither pottery nor stone
vessels most of their food was roasted.

Storage of Food

251 Although fresh meat was theoretically obtainable throughout
the year, there were often considerable periods in which no
herds were found or successfully attacked, and there was always
the risk that herds forsaking their established trails might
[731] desert a tract of country for long periods. Serious famines
could and did occur long before the buffalo were slaughtered
[224] wholesale by white hunters at the end of last century. Since,
however, the communal hunting of the Plains yielded a very

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Right, a woman's buckskin dress with fancy decorations of shells and beadwork. Such dresses were worn for special occasions only and often lasted a lifetime, with the woman finally being buried in it. (PHOTO: GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION) *Below*, a nicely beaded pair of women's moccasins, with the customary high top of smoked deerhide. Tribal styles of clothing varied a lot. My grandmothers of the past wore low-cut moccasins with a separate pair of tight-fitting leggings in place of the more recent high tops added on. (PHOTO: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

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[171]
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[p.174]

foot Nation. In those days they were comparable to other 291
wild creatures in that the men were always more gaudy in
their appearance than the women. Nevertheless, men and 292
women both owned clothing of white hides embroidered with
colored quills and other natural articles that they brought out
of their rawhide bags and wore whenever special occasions
demanded.

The basic articles of clothing worn by my grandmothers 291
were dresses and moccasins. Both were made out of soft-tanned
hides and followed basic tribal patterns that could be
readily identified by members of other tribes. Deer hides were 291
preferred for this clothing, though antelope hide was softer 281
and thinner for summer wear, and young elk hides were
thicker for the winter. For everyday use these hides were generally
smoked, since the clothing was bound to get wet and
the hides would shrink and get stiff if they were left unsmoked.
Dress clothing was usually made from white hides, which were
regularly scrubbed with dried blocks of white clay to clean
them. White flour is often used for this purpose nowadays.

While robes were not as functional for the women as 291
dresses and moccasins, they were at least as important. They
served in place of sweaters, coats, and jackets. For the men
they were practically indispensable, since many men wore
only a breechcloth and moccasins underneath. Even now it
is acceptable for a woman to go out on the dance floor, at a
powwow, with no more decoration than a modern-day robe,
which is either a fringed shawl of cloth or a fringed woolen
blanket. Underneath can be worn either a dress or simply
modern street clothes, including jeans and store shoes.

Old-time robes were usually soft-tanned buffalo hides, preferably
from young cows. Robes for young girls were made
from the hides of calves. Summer robes were sometimes made
from tanned elk hides with the hair removed. Both kinds of [531]
robes were decorated with painted, quilled, or beaded stripes
in parallel rows, for special wear. Men often used decorations

291 symbolizing their war exploits, and religious powers. Every-
[531] day robes, however, were left plain, except that they were
trimmed for the wearer's size.

[177] Beef hides did not replace buffalo as robes. Instead, the
people turned to wool blankets and shawls given out by the
government or obtained in trade. Those with bright designs
were preferred, like those that came from the Pendleton
Woolen Mills in Oregon. In Canada the Hudson's Bay Company introduced blankets with colored stripes that also be-
[292] came very popular. Elk-hide robes were still common in the
nineteen twenties, as seen in dance photos of that period, and
they are today still part of the holy woman's outfit during the
Sun Dance.

291 My grandmothers have long been known for being very
modest about themselves. Some of this modesty no doubt
834 stems from our tribal emphasis on virtuousness, while much of it must come from the missionaries and others who began to affect our social ways after 1800. Anthropological evidence and notes from journals written before 1800 indicate that the women of the earlier times were not always fully covered, especially from the waist up, and this was common among many other tribes as well. In fact, women of some Southern Plains tribes wore only skirts during the summertime until the end of the nineteenth century.

515 My grandmothers kept themselves clean, as well as neatly
dressed, according to early writings and stories that have been
passed on. During warm weather they generally bathed each
day in a part of the nearby lake or stream that was set aside
for their privacy. Usually they waited until their morning
[296] work was done and most of the men were gone hunting. While
they had their dresses off they usually cleaned them using
cakes of white clay and scraping them with rough pieces of
stone. Usually they washed their hair at the same time, just
with cold water, though sometimes they washed it by their
lodge with a special brew of herbs and scents if they wanted

of thirteen pairs of Blackfoot moccasins he had collected, four had the trailer cut off, three had one fringe left on, three had two fringes, and three had fringes all the way up the back seam. This last was done by adding a strip of hide, called a welt, between the seam. Such a welt is often found between the side seam on a one-piece moccasin, though seldom in the seam of two-piece moccasins. A welt of red wool was usually put into the seam between moccasins and high ankle flaps. Often this cloth welt was half an inch or an inch wide and sewn down with a cross stitch, or with appliquéd beads, to make a very nice decoration. 294

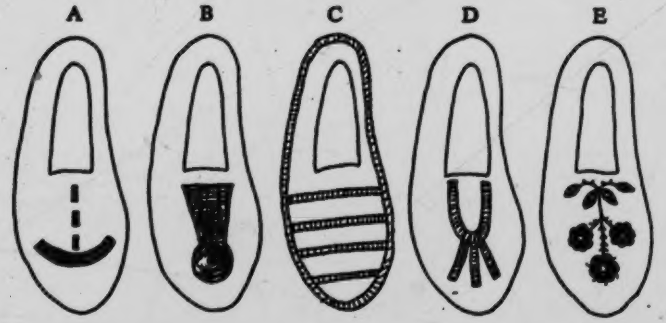
In 1833 the wandering Prince Maximilian wrote that Blackfoot moccasins were often painted so that one foot was a different color than the other. This may have had some sacred purpose, though by the nineteen forties none of the old people seemed to know anything about it. Medicine pipe owners and other holy people have a tradition of painting both moccasins with sacred red earth paint, and occasionally with other colors. 294 531

It is said that Blackfoot moccasins fully covered with quillwork or beadwork were not found as often as among other tribes, although many examples exist in museum collections. Most moccasins seem to have been decorated with small designs in the area between the toes and the instep. Characteristic designs include the "keyholes," crosswise bands, and variations of a three-pronged affair that is thought by many to represent the three divisions of the Blackfoot Nation. Bead and quill decorations are always applied to the moccasin tops before they are sewn to the bottoms. Turning a fully beaded moccasin inside out, after it is sewn up, is always a good, first test of the beadwork's durability!

In the past there was no particular difference between men's and women's moccasins, either in style or in decoration, except that those worn by women always had ankle flaps, while those worn by men sometimes did not. Women's leg- 291

291 gings fit snugly over these ankle flaps. In more recent years
most women have adopted the high-top style of moccasin tra-
ditionally worn by other tribes than ours. These come up to
below the knees and thus eliminate the need for additional
● [531] leggings. Generally these high-top moccasins have flowers
beaded on them—one on the toe and another fairly high up
on the ankle flap. Children's moccasins are the same as those
worn by adults, except smaller.

291 531 Drawings on this page represent a few of the most basic designs used on Blackfoot moccasins, according to a study made in the nineteen forties by John Ewers. Old people of that time told him that the design in figure A is the most ancient of all. They called it the "crooked nose" design, and said that it was especially popular on the one-piece moccasins made of buffalo fur. It was commonly made with red and white quills, or with red and blue, or red and yellow beads (mainly the old, large, "real beads").



The "keyhole" design in figure B was called "round" design. Sometimes the basic shape was cut out of colored trade cloth, sewn down, and only edged with beads. Often it was combined with a narrow band all the way around the base of the moccasin tops.

291 531 Figure C shows what was called the "cross" or "striped" design, which was generally made with the above-mentioned narrow band of beads around the base of the tops, as shown. Red, yellow, and green were favorite colors used with this design.

[171] While the first three figures show designs that were common among tribes other than the Blackfoot, figure D shows one that seems to have been an exclusive Blackfoot design. Many variations of it existed, many of which I have seen in museum collections. John Ewers said that this design was called "three-finger beadwork," "half-breed work," or "white-man sewing," and that the people he spoke to denied any tribal symbolism for the three fingers. However, some of our Blood elders have told us that the three points represent the three divisions, with a common origin from the earth, which is represented by the semi-oval section. They didn't say if this was an ancient tradition or a more recent conclusion, but the design itself is definitely an ancient one. The area inside the rounded portion is commonly filled with red trade cloth.

Figure E shows a basic floral design, of which there are a great many variations. Some of the floral designs became very intricate after the coming of the small seed beads in the eighteen seventies.

DRESSES

291 The basic style of traditional dresses worn by my grandmothers must have become popular sometime around 1800. The trader and explorer David Thompson wrote in the seventeen eighties that dresses were then much like modern women's slips: rectangular bodies held up by shoulder straps. To these were added separate sleeves in cooler weather. Women of neighboring tribes wore similar dresses, though no Blackfoot examples exist in museum collections today.

292 The style of dress that is still worn by some women on spe-

294 Modern buckskin dresses, like modern shirts and leggings for men, are notable for being very tailored. They usually lack the legs and other natural shapes, while their fringes are generally very neat and even.

Several kinds of stitches were used for sewing up buckskin dresses. Seams used for the tops were generally turned inside when completed. Along the sides, however, the seams were often left exposed, with the stitches some way in from the edge of the hide. This left two narrow, parallel flaps that were cut into short fringes all the way down the sides. Often welts were inserted in the side seams and then fringed. A triangular piece of hide was often sewn in between the seam, toward the bottom of a dress, to make the skirt flare out and give more leg room. Notice that the bottoms of sleeves were not sewn shut.

As with moccasins and other hide articles that were to be decorated, skins used for dresses were worn with the flesh side out. Beadwork is much easier to do on this side than on the smooth outer side of a tanned hide. Close examination shows that most dresses have pieces of skin added in various places to fill out the hides. On those dresses where the rear end of a hide hangs down in front in the form of a yoke, the deer tail is generally left on, though only a clipped version of it. The tail hangs down in the center of the chest and the back. On some dresses a deer tail was simply sewn on at this same place. Many dresses had only these deer tails for decoration, along with short fringing at seams and edges.

291 53\ Most dresses in museum collections are also decorated with beadwork, pieces of trade cloth, and such items as shells, animal teeth, and sewing thimbles. It is through these decorations that we can best tell Blackfoot dresses from those of other tribes, since basic dress styles are often similar. Noted characteristics of Blackfoot dresses include a curve in the beaded breastband that resembles the shape of a deer hide's rear end, as it looks when folded over and sewn down as a

291 531 yoke on a dress. Other tribal distinctions include a triangular symbol at the lower front, with an ancient significance of womanhood, and two other symbols, lower down, that are said by some to represent the kidneys, though their original meanings may be lost in time.

[294] Beadwork on old dresses was done with "real beads," or pony beads, and usually in the lazy stitch. The breastband was usually in two colors, such as black and white, light blue and white, or pink and green. Dark and light colors were generally combined for contrast. Sometimes the colored stripes and lines were broken up with small geometric sections, but rarely with any other designs. However, designs—and additional colors—were often used on the shoulder bands that became popular on these kinds of dresses after the small seed beads became available. Narrow, beaded strips along the bottoms of these dresses were also popular. The patches at the bottoms of most dresses were generally made of trade cloth, one side red and the other black or dark blue. These were often edged with beads also. In addition, little pieces of trade cloth were used to back the many buckskin strands hanging down from different parts of dresses. Long-ago dresses were decorated with quillwork in place of beads.

291 The first cloth dresses were generally made of red or blue wool. This tended to stretch or ravel, unless it was used in more square shapes than those of the old-time dresses. Thus, new styles of dresses were designed for the use of cloth. This trade wool always had a white strip known as the selvage, where the cloth was clamped during the dying process. These white strips were always placed along the bottoms of dresses (as well as men's leggings and other apparel) as a form of 291 531 decoration. In addition, beadwork was usually applied with real beads or seed beads. In some cases the beadwork was in the shape of the old breastband, in others it was only a small strip along the shoulders, and in still others it covered the [237] [178] whole top. A new style of decoration became popular in

which rows of beadwork alternated with rows of cowrie shells, 291
or sometimes with elk teeth. This style was especially common
on the lighter cloth dresses that became the most popular 531
style from the eighteen nineties to the nineteen twenties. The [178]
beadwork done on these light dresses was often with large [237]
tubular beads known as "basket beads." The bottoms of these
dresses were quite full, and usually decorated with many parallel rows of ribbons in different widths and colors. Sateen
was a popular material during that period, and many different colors were used. They were usually made with a sew- 294
ing machine and neatly hemmed. The sleeves were sewn shut
all the way, and the tops were often lined on the inside to
support the beads and shells.

The widespread use of cloth brought on many new varia- 291
tions to women's dresses. One popular style used a cape, dec-
orated with beadwork and shells, which could be worn over 178
any plain calico dress. Some capes were actually the decorated
remnants of worn-out cloth dresses. Some cloth dresses were 291
decorated with buckskin additions that were fringed. Some
dresses were made of velvet, with decorations of ribbons and 531
metal sequins. The most valuable dresses had their tops covered with elk teeth or cowrie shells.

TANNING

In my grandmothers' days a woman was judged by the 281
way her tanning looked. A good tanner was considered an 555
industrious woman, while a bad tanner was considered lazy.
I guess they figured that if a woman couldn't tan well then
she couldn't do much else well, either. This was back in the
days when leather was a basic article in the daily life of the
people.

There were a number of variations to the basic process of 281
making fresh hides into prepared leather. The variations de-

281 pended on the use that the hide was going to be put to, as
well as the skills and desires of the one doing the tanning.
[462] In any case, tanning was women's work among the Bloods,
[171] and other Plains people.

The first stage of tanning turns a fresh hide into rawhide.
I have heard the term *rawhide* used by people to describe all
kinds of leather. Actually it should only be used to describe
415 a hide that is cleaned but otherwise untanned. Rawhide was
most commonly used for the different kinds of storage containers that the people used. For instance, what my grandmothers used for suitcases were called parfleches (a French word), or "covering for things," (translated from Blackfoot). A parfleche is made of one solid piece of rawhide, folded somewhat like an envelope, and sometimes measuring two feet by three feet. Parfleches were used to hold clothing and
[531] dried food. On the outside they were usually decorated with
geometric designs. When they were packed full, properly folded, and tied with several tie strings, they were nearly safe from bother by mice and bugs. Rawhide was also made into square bags, to hold holy things; cylindrical bags, to hold headdresses and special clothing; saddlebags, for being transported; as well as moccasin soles, drumheads, and rattles.

MAKING RAWHIDE

281 Rawhide articles are best made from the hides of buffalo
and, more recently, beef. The first step is to stretch the hide, which was most often done by staking it out on the ground,
[412] hair side down, with tipi stakes. A fleshing tool is used to
remove all the fat and chunks of meat that are clinging to the hide. A knife can be used for this, though not as conveniently. This job requires more strength than skill. The only thing to watch for is not to cut into the hide while removing the scraps.

294 and stores. They used flint knives and sharp-edged stones for
[412] cutting. They used pointed pieces of bone—often broken from
a whole leg bone—as awls, to make holes for their stitches.
[237] And they used sinews from animals as thread. The sinews are
294 softened in the mouth before sewing. If the tip is left unsoaked, it stays hard and takes the place of a needle for going
283 through the awl holes. Here is what Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door
told me about sinew:

"I still use sinew instead of thread when I make holy things. The sinew lies along the backbone of animals like cows, deer, and elk. You get one of them and you scrape the meat off of it and then you plaster the strip on a flat surface, where it can dry. One time I plastered a fresh deer sinew on the outside of my window frame and forgot about it. It must have dried and fallen off, because I never saw it again. I imagine the dogs ate it."

A strip of sinew around our household lasts for quite a while. Whenever we need some we just peel it from the main piece, however thick it needs to be. You soak it in your mouth until it is soft, then you hold one end and roll the rest of it across your lap with your palm a bunch of times. This will make it twist so that it resembles thread. After it is sewn in place it will dry and become stiff and tough. It wears much better than thread, especially on such things as moccasin soles. For beadwork I find it much easier to use needles and thread. However, lately some stores have been selling "commercial sinew," which is made in South America and comes on long spools. You can unroll it like thread, and strip it thinner like sinew, and it is very tough. My grandmothers would have sure liked it!

PORCUPINE QUILLWORK

294 An ancient Blackfoot art of decorating clothing and other
531 articles of soft hide is that of sewing down the quills of a
237

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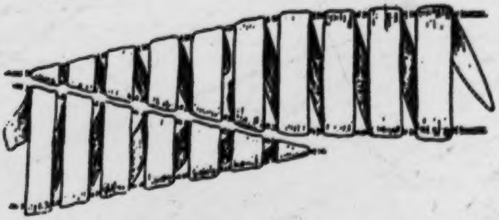
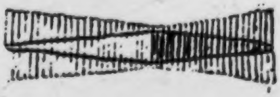
531 ●





porcupine so that they form patterns and designs. This art^ was [237]
first taught to the long-ago people by Thunder, according to [773]
our legends. Ever since then it has been regarded as a sacred
craft. Those who wish to learn it and practice it go to an ex- [796]
perienced elder to be initiated and instructed. There are yet
several people who have been so initiated. However, my [753]
mother gave me the common tribal opinion that quillworkers
go blind early, and often suffer from internal problems due
to some kind of power in the quills.

Porcupine quills were used in their natural shades, as well 237
as dyed. All the main colors for dyeing were obtained from
different plants, which were usually moistened, covered with 386
quills, and then wrapped up until dry. By that time the color 531
was usually soaked into the quills permanently. After colored 294
cloth was introduced by traders, in the eighteen hundreds,
some people dyed their quills by boiling them with pieces of
cloth. Others in more recent times have used commercial dyes.

Quillworkers soak the quills in their mouths to soften 294
them before they are sewed down. Among the basic supplies 531
needed, in addition to quills of various sizes and colors (all [415]
kept in separate pouches—traditionally in dried and softened
cow bladders), are many strands of rolled sinew, an awl, a [412]

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^ [i.e., porcupine quill decoration--Analyst]

294 smooth object used to flatten down the quills after they are
531 sewn on, and a piece of tanned hide on which to apply the
work.

[415] A common method of sewing quills down on buckskin is
[412] as follows. Two parallel sinew threads are stitched down after
each crossing of a quill which is folded back and forth, beginning with the butt end and ending with the tip. The tip and the next butt end are then overlapped in such a way that the joint will not show on the completed work. The width of a quilled band produced in this way is very narrow.

QUILLWORK

by Ruth Little Bear

In the old days they used to decorate their clothing and fancy articles with colored porcupine quills. This was especially so before the women got hold of beads and began
[796] doing beadwork. Quillwork was a special craft and a woman
had to be initiated by an older lady before she could begin.
This is still true today; that is why there are only a few people
237 left who can do quillwork among the Blackfoot. They say
753 that all of these people who did quillwork would eventually
get sick and hemorrhage. I don't know what kind of substance is in a porcupine quill, but they say they got sick from that. They had to soak them in their mouths and use their teeth to flatten them, and that's how they took that substance.

294 I've never gone through the initiation for quillwork, so all
531 I did was beadwork. But I've seen ladies who were good at it.
They kept their quills in special bags made from buffalo
237 bladders. The bladders were blown up and tied and then hung
415 up to dry. When they were dry they were rubbed back and
[281] forth until the fibers broke down and the bag was kind of soft.
Then it was folded lengthwise two or three times. The quills were inserted into the bag through a slit. The bags were stiff enough to keep the quills from being bent.

237 Only certain quills were used—the thin ones that were

20: Hungry Wolf 1-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

long were the best. For that reason the skins of young porcu- 231
pines were preferred. Old porcupines are larger than young ones, and have larger, thicker quills. I understand that these tend to split more easily when they are flattened between the teeth. The ones around the rear part of the animal are the best. An easy way to remove them from the hide is to pull a gunny sack back and forth across it. The quills will stick into the sack, from which you can pull them back out without getting stabbed.

The quills were used in their natural shades and also dyed. 237
Long ago they had only a few basic colors, like red, yellow, 386
and green. Later on they learned how to use articles from the traders as sources for dye. A favorite was the red-wool trade cloth, which was soaked and boiled with such things as quills and feathers, to turn them red. Still later, the traders caught on and began stocking boxes of dye, which the people used straight and mixed to make many shades of, usually, bright colors.

Besides going through a traditional initiation, the Black- 294
foot quillworker is supposed to follow a number of rules. For 784
instance, it is said that quillworkers go blind if they ever throw a porcupine quill into a fire, or if they do quillwork at night. It is also said that a quillworker will prick her fingers a lot with the quills if she sews any moccasins in her home. She is not supposed to eat certain food, such as porcupine meat, nor should she allow anyone to pass in front of her while she is quilling.

BEADWORK

The beadwork of my grandmothers is well known among 294
students of Native culture for its pleasing colors and designs, 531
along with its tight and smooth appearance. The traditional Blackfoot beading style is the appliqué stitch, which requires the use of two threads simultaneously. One thread is used

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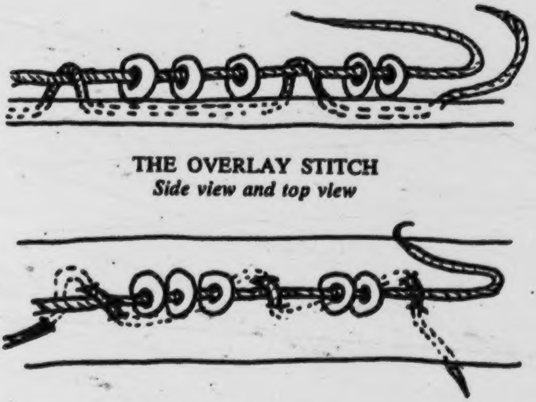
for stringing the beads, the other is for stitching the strung beads down. This makes the finished work look different from that made by many other Plains tribes, such as the Sioux. Their style is called the lazy stitch, and it uses only one thread, which leaves the beads in somewhat loose rows that have a ridged appearance, instead of lying flat. Traditional Blackfoot beadworkers seldom used the lazy stitch, nor the beading loom, which is the other popular form of beadwork.



THE OVERLAY STITCH
Side view and top view

Popular colors used by traditional Blackfoot beadworkers include light and dark blue, "greasy" yellow, "Cheyenne" pink, rose, and dark green. Of course, many other colors were used as well, in a great variety of shades. Shades of bead colors change from shipment to shipment, but the majority of old Blackfoot beadwork that I have seen uses the above colors. The old-time seed beads were made in Italy, and are known as "Italian beads" to merchants. They are of good glass, and the colors are very soft and subtle. They are of

uneven shapes which gives the finished beadwork a special 294
texture. Most modern beads are sold as "Czechoslovakian 531
beads," since that is where they are made. They have pretty even shapes and very bright colors, and can be easily told from the old style of beading.

Blackfoot geometric beadwork designs are often large figures made up by carefully combining many smaller ones, usually beginning with squares, stripes, triangles, or rectangles, Each minor design within a large design is usually a different color. A few designs have common names, such as the "mountain design" and the "feather design." Otherwise, however, there are no tribal meanings to any beaded designs—only what each beadworker might think on her own.

SOME HISTORY OF BEADS AND BEADING

Because beadwork and the use of beads is the most popular form of craftwork practiced today, I want to give you some
historical background of it. First of all, it is interesting to note 294
that, although beadwork is considered an "Indian art and 531
craft," it would have never come about without the introduction of beads by white traders. My grandmothers of long ago 177
used porcupine quills to decorate their clothing and articles. When they first got hold of small beads they learned to replace the quills with beads in their decorating work.

Beads made of dried berries, fish and snake vertebrae, [237]
claws, teeth, shells, and other natural articles have been used by my ancestors for untold generations. However, for more than two hundred years now, the most popular beads have been those made by a variety of European beadmakers and craftsmen, for import and distribution by traders and merchants. Virtually every sacred and ceremonial article of Blackfoot origin—seen among the people, or in museum collections—has some of these European beads among its decorations.

175 John Ewers gives a good history of Blackfoot beadwork in
his book *Blackfeet Crafts*. He says that some trade beads may
531 have reached the Blackfoot people in the early seventeen
177 hundreds through trade with tribes who were then in direct
[114] contact with merchants, though my ancestors were not. By
the seventeen eighties a few of these merchants had made their way directly to the Blackfoot people. By the eighteen-thirties many important men and women in the tribe already wore shirts and dresses decorated with large embroidery beads known today as pony beads. Sky blue and white was the most common color combination. This early beadwork generally followed the styles and designs of quillwork. Many articles were then decorated with a combination of quills and beads.

175 The old people called these early beads real beads, after
other kinds of beads were introduced to them. In 1870 eight
531 hanks of these beads were valued at one good buffalo robe.
A hank had about ten eight-inch strings of beads. The larger "necklace beads" were much more valuable. Some old strings of them are still passed on as family heirlooms. Many styles of necklace beads have been used. Among the oldest and most prized are those known as skunk beads. They are fairly large, usually of blue glass, with raised, hand-painted designs of small, red-and-white flower buds, connected by vinelike lines. A few are still found among the contents of medicine bundles today.

The type of beads and style of beadwork most common today are said to have become popular among the Blackfoot people during the eighteen seventies. Seed beads were then introduced in such small sizes (mostly less than half that of the "real beads") that my grandmothers began to show their artistic skills with beadwork of intricate patterns in many colors. Articles that had before been mostly decorated with borders or small areas of designs were now fully covered with beads. Such articles included moccasins, vests, cradleboards, bags, and purses. Beaded designs of leaves and colorful flowers became very popular. 175 531

TOYS

Traditional Blackfoot toys were mainly dolls, or miniature replicas of all the things used by adults. The dolls were made mostly by women, even though boys and girls both played with them. Otherwise, toys for boys were usually made by their fathers, while those for girls were made by their mothers. These toys were usually treasured, and the smaller ones were kept in special rawhide bags. 524

There were all kinds of dolls, from the simple ones of willow sticks, with cut-off branches for arms and legs, to the fancy ones with fully beaded clothing and real human hair. Older girls were given dolls complete with small tipis and other household furnishings, sometimes even small medicine bundles. Cradleboards, baby dolls, and horses with travois for hauling the household effects were also popular.

Favorite toys for boys included bows and arrows, whips and spinning tops, drums and other instruments, and horse gear. Dolls in the shape of boys and warriors were also common. Boys always looked for branches and pieces of trees that they could use for imitation horses to practice bucking, racing, and general riding.

CRADLEBOARDS

Traditional Blackfoot mothers carried their babies in cradleboards to protect them. The frames for these used to be made out of willow branches, curved, tied, and cross-braced. Later they were made out of large, sturdy boards sawed to the desired shape. Either way, they are covered with several 854

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Introduction to the Sun Dance Encampment

Setting Up Camp

It was the middle of summer, the time when Sun 101
is closest to us and to our Mother Earth. It was a
good time to gather with friends and relatives.
The long, hot days were perfect for relaxing by a
tipi and visiting with others. On printed calendars
the year was 1972.

Within that summer camp one of our Peo- 122
ple's ancient Medicine Pipe Bundles could be seen 778
hanging over the doorway of a yellow-painted tipi [531]
that had figures of otters drawn all around it. This
was the tipi of my own family—and within it, our [532]
household.

To most of my friends I am Hungry Wolf, 123
though our Old People call me Natosina, or Sun 551
Chief. The first name was given to me long ago as 553
a reflection of some of my personal characteristics.
The second name was given me by my "uncle" [114]
when I became a Medicine Pipe Man. Natosina
had been the name he had inherited from his
father. All who carried this name were Medicine
Pipe Men and lived to old age.

My wife is SikskiAki, or "Black-Faced 551
Woman." The name was inherited from an old
relative and has nothing to do with her appearance.

[p. 3-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

Enough of 262
his own teeth remained to allow him to chew his
favorite food—meat;[A] He would have been con- [927]
tent with a diet of meat and bread, and lots of [271]
water that he claimed helped stimulate digestion.
Though he liked fruits and desserts, he was not
overly fond of vegetables. Like most of our Old
People of the long-ago, he did not eat fish, be-
cause they belong to the Underwater Spirits.
Around his neck was his customary black scarf; 291
his feet were covered with moccasins. He was
wearing his special dress moccasins with a blue- [531] ●
and-white geometric design beaded on them. One
of his canes was plain, while the other was carved
and vividly decorated with paint.

When he finally spoke, he asked if we knew 124
the story of how things were in the beginning of the world. Of course we had read several versions of the traditional creation myth told among our People, but we didn't know his version and were anxious to hear it. He lapsed into silence, sorting out the story in his mind. We sat quietly so that he would not get the feeling we were impatient.

Although the heat of the afternoon was be- 342
coming very noticeable, the brightness of the out- 532
doors was greatly subdued by the yellow coating of paint and the black silhouettes of the eight otters that circled the outside of our lodge.

The Old Man's voice began in a commanding tone:

HOW THE EARTH WAS MADE AND PEOPLE ORIGINATED

Oki, the first ones here were a man named Sun, 539
a woman named Earth Woman, and a Dog. These were the first three that inhabited Earth. So that makes four. The man did all the hunting. He always cut open whatever he got and then went home. The woman was given just a limited time to go and get what he cut open. The man put a thong in his mouth, soaked it, and then put it down. The woman had to bring the food home before the thong dried. They lived in abundance.

A, [i.e., Wolf Old Man, a nonagenarian--Analyst]

[P. 16-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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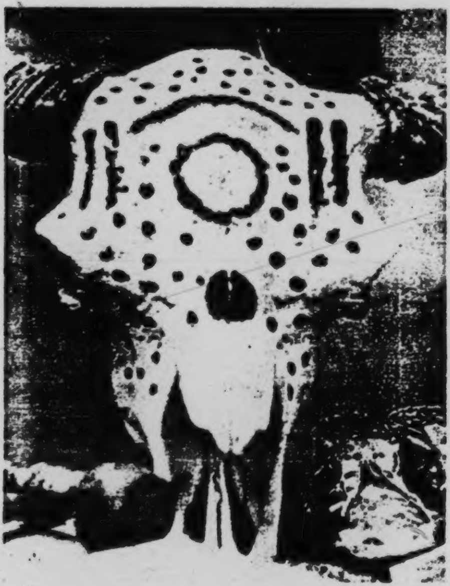

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796
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Buffalo skull painted for the Medicine Lodge ceremony, on display at the Glenbow Museum. Symbols represented include: Sun in the center; pairs of Sun Dogs on each side; crescent Moon above; Morning Star below; and hail stones, or Thunder, all around.

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blankets, and quilts were draped in such a way that the inside became absolutely dark and fairly airtight. A buffalo skull, representing the Power and Spirit of the traditional food source, was painted with ceremonial colors and laid on top of each lodge facing the east. 343 346 [778] [237]

As the sweat lodges neared completion, fires were started to heat the rocks—one hundred rocks for the fires in each lodge. One hundred is a sacred number during the Medicine Lodge ceremony because it is many, like the People of the tribe. [801]

[p. 24B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

moose hooves is tied to the stick. The hooves and 796
stick symbolize our Old People's main foods— 795
meat and roots. They also represent two of the 778
spiritual helpers who are said to have contributed [237]
their Powers to the original Natoas. The mean-
ings of these items were revealed in a dream to a [262]
Beaver Bundle man who kept the original Natoas. [787]

The holy woman's sacred headdress is the
most important item in the rawhide case. Like [292]
our other tribal Medicines of ancient origin, this
one is made up of things symbolic of the natural
world. The base of the headdress is a rawhide [237]
band of buffalo skin, shaped like a lizard. Plumes
and feathers of eagles and other birds are fastened [531] ●
to it so that they stand up. Skins of weasels are
attached so that they hang down, and an ancient
arrowhead hangs from one side. A tiny image-doll [532]
stuffed with sacred tobacco seeds is attached to
the rawhide band to represent mystical Spirits [776]
known as the Little People. Back when our Old
People still grew sacred tobacco, the Little People
would mysteriously come and give it their Power
to be sacred.

Wilson made these observations during the transfer ceremonies of these sacred headdresses:

Simultaneously, the initiation rite was per- 796
formed in '92 in all four of the lodges. I witnessed 793
that in which three women were initiated at once
in Running Wolf's lodge. The front had been [346]
enclosed and poles of the lodge had been spread
far apart and a second lodge pitched in front, so

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]

[p. 26-A]

> *that when their canvas was joined a double lodge* 796
> *was formed. At back end of the lodge proper,* 793
> *sitting in a row, were the old and new O-Kon*
> *women and the master of ceremonies [Wilson* [346]
> *means the holy women and the priest]; also the*
> *husbands of the women about to be initiated. In* 796
> *middle of lodge a hole had been dug 2½ by 3 feet* 778
> *square and 4 inches deep; the sod taken from it*
> *was piled around three sides and covered with* [824]
> *pine boughs [actually, boughs of creeping juniper*
> *—a species commonly found in our country; it*
> *grows close to the earth and is the sacred incense*
> *for Medicine Lodge ceremonies]. Bottom of hole* [531] ●
> *was covered with white clay in which had been*
> *drawn, an inch deep, this design [showing the*
> *main symbols of the Universe]; the bottom of all*
> *the marks was painted black by sprinkling in*
> *them black paint, the edges yellow. A cottonwood* [824]
> *tree was planted in ground to the left of hole.*
> *Tree 7 or 8 feet high. Upon the tree were hanging*
> *the head dresses to be disposed of.*

The hole Wilson describes was the incense 796
alter, representing our Mother Earth. The designs 778
indicated Moon, in the shape of a crescent; Sun; 531
Morning Star; and Sun Dogs. The black paint was
for Night Sky, the yellow paint for the Powers [822]
represented. The small cottonwood tree stood as a [824]
symbol of the Old People's main source of fire-
wood, without which they would have perished. [372]
In the midst of these spiritual symbols, the sacred
headdresses were hung. In addition, the leader of
the sacred ceremonies regularly made incense on
the altar, for its sweet smell symbolized the presence of the Holy Spirits.

Wilson continues:

> *Seven men rattled and sang, and the three* 796
> *old O-Kon women took each a root digger, and* 793
> *leaning upon them, dance upon their knees, rat-*
> *tling against the stick each a bundle of buffalo* [533]
> *toes [moose hooves], and at end of the song tied* [535]
> *the toes to the stick securely and in next songs* [237]

[p.27-A]

Renewing the rattling as they sang and after 793
many flourishes, a crow's tail was tied to the back 796
lock of each black man's hair, and a scalp tied [237]
around his neck, which was first passed 4 times
around his head and handed to him and taken [301]
again by the priest to tie. In the meantime, the [302]
women's faces had been painted, and the root
diggers stuck in their belts behind, the rattles
dangling therefrom.

The O-Kon necklaces were next produced [301]
and with usual flourishes and songs were tied
about each man's neck and wrists. This concluded
that part of it.

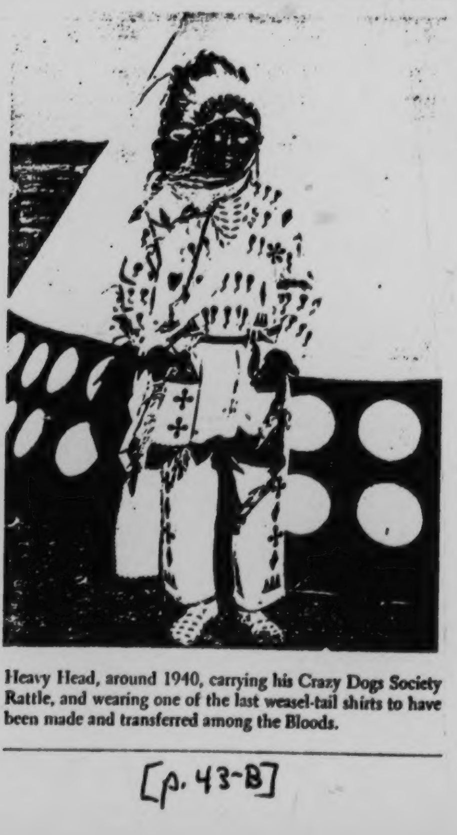
These necklaces, *O-Koch-Kindt*, are still 796
worn by the man and woman during Medicine- 301
Lodge ceremonies. They consist of a thong with
four blue beads strung on each side, representing 531
the clear sky. A white dentalium shell is strung [822]
between the beads to represent the purity and
holiness of the Spirit World. A thin braid of hair [237]
hangs down from the center of the necklace to
represent the Power of the People. The holy [793]
woman may make extra necklaces to transfer to
anyone requesting such a spiritual Medicine, as
the wearer is believed to possess the spiritual
power of the holy ceremony. Our last holy
woman, old Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, transferred a
holy necklace to SikskiAki when we attended the
recent Okan among the Southern Piegans.

When the 1892 ceremonial transfer and 793
painting were done, and the women were dressed
in their holy headdresses and elk robes, they were 796
ready to go outside and perform the main ceremonial [292]
functions. From within the tipi in which
Wilson was an observer, came a procession led by
No Chief, who was the priest. Behind him came
the three black-painted husbands, wearing black
blankets over their heads. And behind them came
the holy women, each one following the woman
whose Natoas she had just taken over. From the
other holy tipis came similar processions.

Wilson's narrative continues:

the ropes and jerked them hard twice. Then he 785
told me, "Now you go to the Center Pole and 796
pray that your vow will come true." I walked up
there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. [152]
But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the Center Pole I was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the Center Pole. It felt just like the Center Pole was pulling me toward it. I began to dance from the



292
342
531●
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534

Heavy Head, around 1940, carrying his Crazy Dogs Society Rattle, and wearing one of the last weasel-tail shirts to have been made and transferred among the Bloods.

had undergone the self-torture ceremony. With 785
some variations in the details, their stories are still 796
told whenever our Old People get together to talk about the past. The mentioned mix-up with the Mounted Police will be more fully described later in a story about old Calf Robe, who was the object of the mix-up.

THE 1908 OKAN, SPONSORED BY HEAVY SHIELD

We are fortunate to have Wilson's written account of the 1892 Okan. Without it, many of the 796
details of the ceremony would have been lost to 114
us. Nevertheless, many details were not recorded and are lost because he did not understand all that went on around him. He was given no Teachings about Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Among the Old People who were given such 796
Teachings is George First Rider, the son of a 115
priest and doctor. Here is his story of another, later Sun Dance, as he told it recently.

My grandmother, Catching Amongst, was going to sponsor a Holy Lodge in the year 1908, 796
but she didn't. Something happened in the family of the people that were going to transfer the Natoas Bundle to her. [*Probably a death; a mourning family cannot take part in holy ceremonies.*] [765]

If there is no one to spcnsor a Holy Lodge, 796
then the Horns Society will look for someone. 575

The Horns Society took one of the tongues [237]
[*from the cows that were butchered on ration day*], *and the ceremonial leader painted it black.* [531] ●
The Horns Society sang, "The black paint I take. . . . It is holy."

The seven high-ranking members went out in a procession bearing the painted tongue. They [292]
all wore holy moccasins, breechcloths, and robes. The procession led to the east entrance of the camp circle. They walked slowly. When they got [782]
to the south side, they stopped and prayed. They stopped and prayed several times as they pro-

built. The young Horns got their saddle ponies 796
and rode down to the river. They gathered one 346
hundred rocks. The rocks were smaller than a 575
folded fist. White flint rocks and sand rocks were not taken. They picked all ordinary rocks. About noon the riders were heard returning, singing plainly. There were no women among the riders. The riders paraded around the inside of the camp circle. They all dismounted at the Holy Lodge tipi and their horses were led away.

The sweat lodge was constructed. There are 796
one hundred willows to a holy sweat lodge. The 346
entrance is on the east side and the exit is on the [824]
west side, just like the daily path of Sun. The
fifty willows on the south side were colored with [531]
real paint [red earth] and the other fifty willows
were colored with black paint. The real paint [822]
represents the day; the black paint represents the
night. The buffalo hides used to cover the sweat [237]
lodge were also colored, the hides on the south
side with real paint, the hides on the north side [531]
with black paint. In recent years the willows and the canvases are not colored anymore.

In legends of the long-ago, only one rock was used in the sweat lodge. Lately, one hundred rocks were used. In this sweat lodge the rocks were not heated red hot. It was a sweat lodge just to reinforce the spiritual powers.

The buffalo skull, which is offered to Sun, was [237]
laid on a small pile of dirt that had been scooped
out from a hole inside the sweat lodge. It is dif- [782]
ferent with the Crow Indians, who put their buf- [171]
falo skulls by the Center Pole. Buffalo skulls are no longer left out as offerings. They are put away for use in the next Sun Dance.

The night after the sweat lodge ceremonies,
the Horns Society members were painted and the 796
next morning they cut down the Center Pole. 346
There were four singers, each with hand drums, 575
which were invented by that time. The Center
Pole was cut down, and as it was hauled to the [533]
center of the camp circle, the Horns Society [534]
members rode on it. A woman member was ap-

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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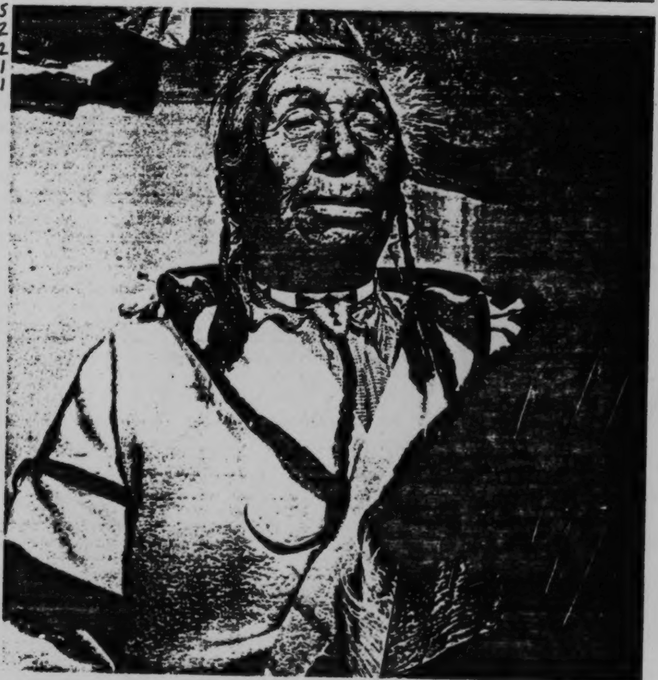

Wolf Old Man, as he sat for his portrait in January, 1958. (Marsden Photo, from Glenbow Archives)

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Blood

dresser top was doubled by their reflection in the 123
dresser mirror. Three iron-frame beds took up 353
most of the floor space. An old man sat on each
of the beds. All three old men looked silently at [352]
us. I felt as though we had disturbed a harmonious
scene, which now awaited us to announce
why we came.

The Old Man was on the bed at the rear. He 123
squinted, trying to see who was at the doorway.
His many wrinkles and powerful features were all [302]
the more pronounced because his face was
painted with sacred red earth. The paint went up
into the forelock of his white hair. The forelock
covered where his hair was parted into two braids,
which fell over his ears. Pieces of red flannel cloth
were tied at the ends of his braids. He wore a long-sleeved [291]
flannel shirt, gray trousers, and an old pair
of buckskin moccasins. The toe of each moccasin [531] ●
was decorated with a yellow beaded flower and
green leaves.

When the Old Man learned we had come to
see him, he reached out his hand and we shook it
in greeting. The size and strength of his younger
years was still in the clasp of his hand. My lips
were dry and my knees were trembling, but I decided
to shake the hands of the other two men in
the room. I walked first to the one across from [784]
the Old Man, realizing too late that I had stepped
between the stove and the Bundles on the wall,
thus disturbing their sacred path. The two men
shook my hand. As one of them pointed out my
error, the feeling within the room became even
more Powerful. I had not been sure what to say
first to the Old Man. But, in apologizing for my
mistake, I explained the purpose of my visit—to
learn from him how to live in harmony with the
Spirit of the Old Ways. I told him that it would
be best for me to end our first visit right then,
and that I wished to come back at another time.
He replied, "If your desire to learn is strong
enough then I will look forward to your next
visit."

Once outside, this Powerful experience 114

[p.50-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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531●

Iron and his last wife, Istsimpski, or "Hateful Face." She was the former wife of Ghost Chest and the mother of Charlie Goodrider. The photo was taken in 1939, a time when the ancient symbols on his beaded rifle were coincidentally used as swastikas by Nazi Germany. (Esther Goldfrank)

People still remember seeing him dance with the 796
sacred Pipestems. He would take the long, deco- 276
rated Stem and toss it up on his head, where it
would stay while he performed the sacred dance
of Medicine Pipe ceremonies. Most people who [784]
dance with a sacred Stem hold it very tightly with
both hands, for it is a sign of impending misfor-

[p.55-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

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778

Tough Bread with his wife and their Yellow-Otter-Flag Tipi, in the Blood camp of 1891. The Otter Flag can be seen over the top of the lodge poles. (R. N. Wilson)

The sacred Bundle for an Otter-Flag Tipi 778
contains an otter skin and one or more other ani-
mal skins. Bells are suspended from the nose, feet, [531] ●
and tail of the flag itself, although in the past [237]
dried deer hooves were used instead of bells.
Bands of quillwork or beadwork decorate the [534]
neck, paws, and tail, and brass shoe-buttons are
sewn on for eyes. The Otter Flag itself is kept in a [415]
rawhide case for most of the year. The case is
hung out behind the tipi in the daytime, and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 72-A]

at the same time yelling in low voices. [More 796
songs.] The two wives of the priests took a 778
bundle of sticks from the sacred bundle and 533
swung them to and from the altar, keeping time.
[The cawing and pecking were actually imitations [825]
of ravens, not crows. The rattles were usually [534]
made either from buffalo rawhide or from scrotums
of buffalo. While pecking on the rattles of [237]
buffalo skin, the ravens sang, "The wind is our
Medicine—Powerful dead buffalo we want," referring
to the buffalo carcasses ravens feasted
upon after hunters finished butchering them.
When the singers first took up the rattles and
beat them on the rawhide, they sang, "My rattles
are Powerful." The sticks the women took were
probably extra incense tongs, which were kept with
every Beaver Bundle.]

In fourth song the two squaws got up and 796
danced around the room, one holding a root digger, 778
a stick sharpened at one end and one edge;
this was painted red as were all the implements. [535]
Whistles were produced and tooted during the [412]
following songs. After three more were sung, [531] ●
Running Wolf took a pipe-stem and got down
upon his knees and bobbed about in which performance [534]
he was soon joined by his wife and
Three Bulls' wife. With their blankets drawn up [533]
around their heads, they kept up those singular [825]
antics, working their hands in imitation of the
beaver. That ended by all three people, 3 times
lowering their heads to the sacred bundle and
grunting several times, and then they took hold of
the outside covers and shook them as if to
frighten away a spirit. During all this time, [522]
"Moons" wife, who is a great wag, was cracking
jokes and making fun of almost every movement
of Running Wolf. [This part of the ceremony, 796
taken with light spirit, often evokes laughter 778
when the Old People leading the ceremony try to 781
imitate small animals at work. The amount of funmaking
at our holy ceremonies would probably
amaze a visitor. But our ceremonies are meant to
bring happiness and harmony, not gloominess and

[p.93-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

over the nose and mouth. He finished the boy by 796
waving the pipestem from altar to the child's 778
body, passing it down each side . . . at last plac- 302
ing the mouth-piece to the boy's lips, he dis- 852
missed him with a prayer.

While her husband was thus engaged, R [782]
Wolf's wife painted three other children with many prayers, flourishes, and incantations. The prayers being to Sun, that the children may have good health and live long lives. Two little boys walked up and laid some old garments at the feet of R Wolf who painted them as before, and a baby was operated on [not surgically, of course, but ceremonially painted] by his wife, who put mouth-piece of pipe-stem to the little one's lips at the finish. Painting of the seven children was finished at 2:15. The father of the first boy I mentioned had his own face coloured red when he entered. To this Running Wolf added 4 black spots, 1 on each cheek, 1 on chin, 1 on center of forehead.

The next movement was the production [531] ●
from the sacred package of some dried buffalo
bladders which were painted red by 3 Bulls, his [237]
hand being guided in this operation by R Wolf who held his wrist. Singing all the time without rattles Running Wolf and his wife guided the hand of 3 Bull's wife as she painted two more bladders. All four of those people now grasped at the same time a painted bladder which they brought with a solemn wave or flourish to 3 Bull's head and thence to his feet. A second bladder was used likewise. . . . Incense was then made. . . . An old woman presented herself for decoration and was followed by a squaw bearing a child, all of whom were painted. A white man's squaw [Lee's] dressed in civilized garb and carrying in her arms a white baby, was the next and last applicant. Mother, child, and some of the others, were given four daubs of dark red on cheeks, chin and forehead. Backs of their hands and wrists were also red. . . .

Running Wolf would sometimes forget the 796
required song and at such times he would sit 778
[533]

[p.95-A]

quite still with eyes closed searching his mind for 796
the tune. I saw him in this perplexity cause an old 778
man to bring a coal of fire to the altar upon which [533]
he [Running Wolf] made incense and then
passed his hands through the smoke and to his
head. . . . After a delay of 5 minutes his wife
found the song and hummed it for him, at which
he at once remembered it all and went on. . . .
He and 3 Bulls took the floor dancing and whistling; [535]
one holding a pipe-stem, the other a buffalo's [276]
tail. These articles they would exchange with
each other from time to time throughout the [237]
dance. They danced around to the altar and finished [782]
by handing the pipe-stem to 2 Bulls, who
put it to his lips and prayed and then handed it to
R Wolf. . . . And thus it was passed around the
house from right to left, each person as he or she
received it prayed with the mouthpiece to the
lips. It took 20 minutes to complete this circle,
the music was renewed as soon as the pipe
reached the women, at end of which incense was
made again. When the pipe-stem returned to the [782]
woman who had started it, she gave up a long
prayer and laid it in its place.

Many of the Indians prayed at me although [782]
not to me of course; they wished their diety to
give me a better heart, to make me more liberal;
some prayed that they and I should always be as
good friends as in the past. R Wolf held up the [825]
front of the hide covering the bundle to hide his
actions from view and soon the sound of a bull
keeping time with the rattles was heard. At 3:30 [237]
R Wolf, after 10 minutes of antics such as poking [531]
up the nose or head of the animal, exposed the
article he had been hiding, which was a large otter [534]
skin decorated with a scalp tied to the nose, and
bells upon the legs. The head was only stuffed.
This object he lifted up and rising to his feet
danced around the room to the women and
handed it to them. She prayed as usual and set it [782]
in place. Running Wolf returned and went
through the same performance with a large dried [237]
Beaver skin with tail and claws on.

During the next song the two women got 000

[p.95-B]

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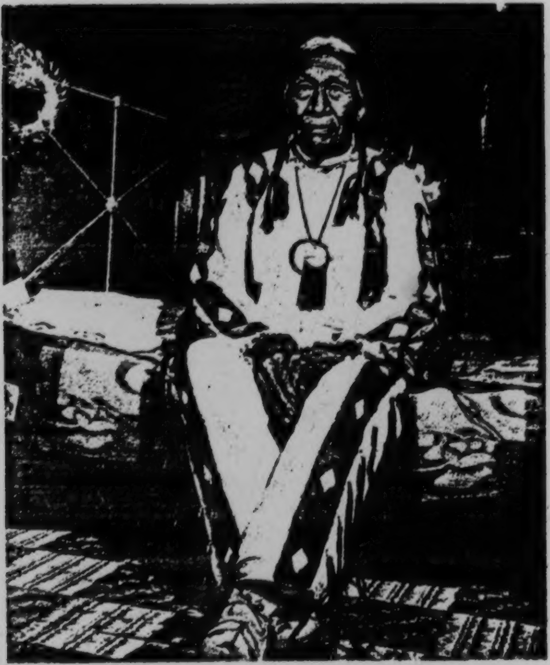
Blood



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Calling Last, seated in front of his Beaver Bundle in 1958. (Glenbow Archives)

[P.100-A]

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Blood

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● 531
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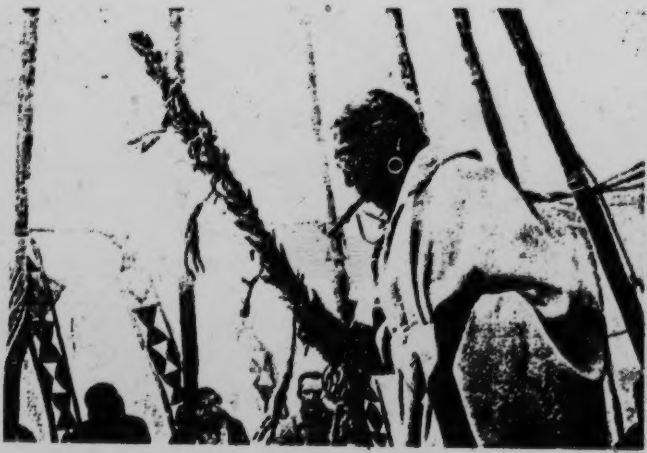

[R 100-B]

: Calling Last dancing with the sacred Pipe from his Beaver Bundle. He is blowing on the eaglebone whistle in time to his dancing. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

used a stone that was too weak. Besides, it is 324
easier to shape the bowl around the holes than it 276
is to drill the holes according to a specific shape.

After the bowl is shaped, it must be blackened. Atsitsina taught me the method of blackening shown to him by old Natosina, his dad. He made me promise to preserve the knowledge as a "family secret," for that was how his dad had kept it. Since most pipemakers use variations of the same method, I will tell you some that have been used.

A brief study of Blackfoot pipes, published in the American Museum of Natural History's Anthropological Papers of 1963, comments on two Blood pipemakers interviewed in 1947 by an anthropologist named John Ewers. Both Blood pipemakers were also Beaver Bundle Owners. One of them was Small-Back-Sides, better known by his other name, Not Good. He was seventy-two years old at that time. Ewers had this to say about his pipemaking:

> *Small-Back-Sides' simple hand tools differed* 324
> *from those used by other pipemakers. He em-* 276
> *ployed a hand drill, composed of a narrow V-* 412
> *shaped metal shaft, set in a wooden cross-handle. Holding this tool . . . he drilled the stem hole first, and then the bowl hole. He enlarged the latter with a flattened, sharp-sided screwdriver. He shaped the outside of the bowl with a rasp, then erased the tool marks with commercial sandpaper.*
>
> *Small-Back-Sides said that he usually drilled* 324
> *and shaped his pipe bowls during the winter* 276
> *months. When cottonwoods were in bud the fol-* 531
> *lowing spring he blackened the pipe bowls by* 824
> *rubbing the surfaces with sticky cottonwood buds, covering them with grease, and holding them over a fire of buckbrush. Finally he polished the blackened pipes with a cloth.*

Old Iron, father of Ponah and Mrs. Red 324
Crow, was the other pipemaker interviewed in 276

didn't get them all, she got many, mostly from 575
Percy Creighton, whose wife was one of the leading members.

An important member of the Motokiks is the [276]
pipe lighter. She takes the smoking pipes to the
society lodge fire and lights them whenever they
are to be smoked. The last pipe lighter was Spear
Woman, who died of old age while visiting in
Browning in 1934. Percy Creighton obtained her [778]
Pipe Lighter's Bundle for Mrs. Walters. Only the [425]
assistant pipe lighter could then fulfill the duties
of pipe lighting. The assistant happened to be
Percy Creighton's wife.

Mrs. Walters comments that in 1939 there were fifteen active members during the Motokiks ceremonies; in 1946 there were sixteen. During our recent encampment only eight women took part in the ceremonies, led by Mrs. Laurie Plume, the Pole Owner.

In 1936 Percy Creighton asked the oldest 575
man on the reserve, who was ninety-four years 175
old, if he had ever heard about the time when the
Motokiks were first organized. Creighton wrote [212]
Mrs. Walters that the old man "in his boyhood
days . . . saw the society dancing, and he don't
know when this society formed together." We [164]
know that the Motokiks had been formed at least [165]
as early as 1832, when most of the Bulls Society
members, very old men who had been outstanding
chiefs and warriors, died in a smallpox epidemic.
After the epidemic, the Bulls Society [425]
ceased to function and the surviving members
gave all the society's ancient headdresses to the
Horns and Motokiks.

Some of the Motokiks Bundles Mrs. Walters 575
bought contained Bulls headdresses. Her notes, 778
which follow, describe a Snake headdress and the
contents of a Bundle whose former Owner was
Small-Faced Woman.

The Bundle was kept in a cylindrical rawhide [127]
case for protection. The case had "fringe on side
—triangular painted design—green and red— [415]
much worn and warped." The contents included [531]
the following:

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[Contents of a Motokiks Bundle]

one unused clam shell and one clam shell used to mix green paint in, along with a mixing stick, all wrapped in a bladder and kept inside a small bag of cheesecloth. 575 778 [237]

one buffalo skin bag of sacred red paint, wrapped in a piece of canvas and tied with a thong.

a bundle of sweetgrass braids wrapped in calico cloth. [824]

a large bundle with calico cloth around it, containing the headdress parts, which were only assembled when it was used; the parts included the snake, made of stuffed, yellow-painted buckskin with a zigzag line beaded along its body, beads and bells to be attached at several points, and three plumes, consisting of many small feathers attached to three main shafts, to be attached to the snake to complete the headdress. [292] [237] [531]

a batch of small feathers, some red and some natural white, in a paper wrapping. [237]

a bone whistle, also kept inside this part of the Bundle, each member wearing such a whistle during the ceremony. [534]

The main Bundle also contained a "loose bead trimmed pendant"; a tiny cloth bag, inside of which was a bladder filled with some kind of roots; and a small "accessory" bundle of paint bags, more roots and painting shells, and some ancient cloth and scarf wrappings. [237]

Robert Wilson was probably the first person to photograph members of the Motokiks wearing their headdresses and putting up their lodge. In those days, the lodge was still constructed with a framework of travois. To accompany Wilson's photographs of 1892 scenes, let us read some excerpts from the 1905 notes of David Duvall, a South Piegan man who collected traditional information for the anthropologist Clark Wissler. These notes are now in the American Museum of Natural History. Duvall got most of his information from an old member who was the wife of Heavy Runner. 575 /127

[p. 112-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Headdress of a Bull member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Glenbow Museum.

Headdress of a Bird member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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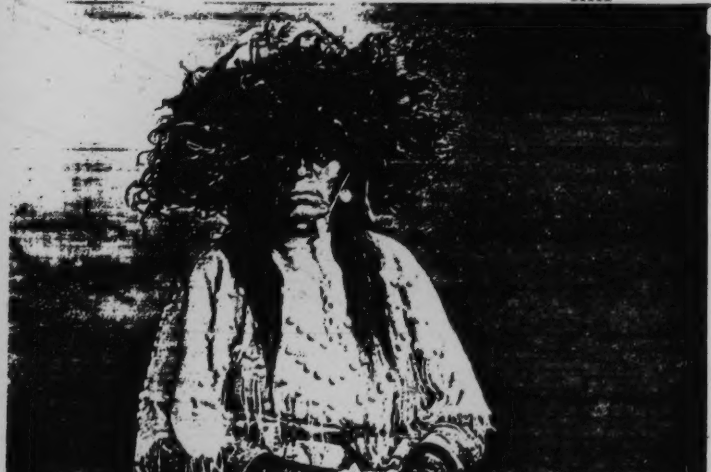
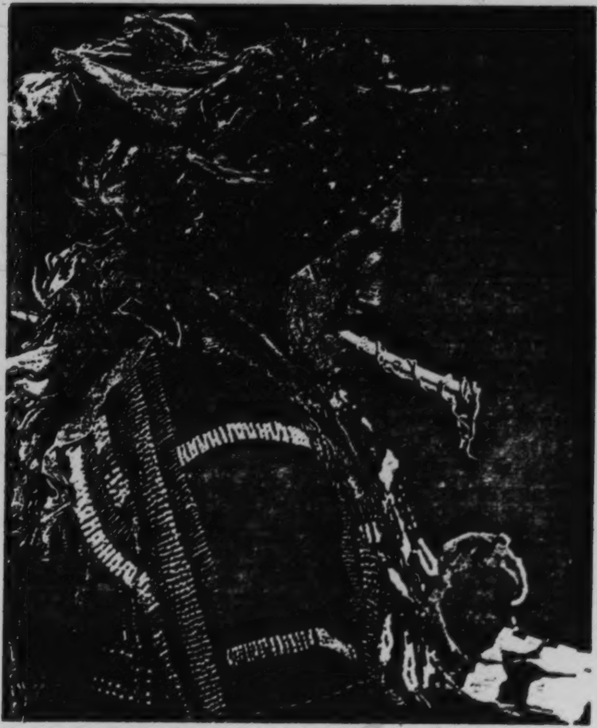


[p. 116]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



575
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An old woman named Maka, or "Shorty," wearing her Motokik's Bull headdress. Her face is painted for her office, and she has her society whistle in her mouth. (Edward Curtis)

Opposite page: Scabby Bull headdress of the Motokiks Society. The lady's name was Snake People Woman. (National Museum of Canada)

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keep the sacred objects bundled up so that their 778
spiritual powers will only be used in the proper
sacred way.

The main object in every Medicine Pipe 778
Bundle is the sacred Stem. Like exceptionally 276
long regular pipestems, they have a straight hole
beginning at the carved mouthpiece and ending
at the carved bowl-fitting. Sacred Pipes are very [531]
handsomely decorated, with many black-and-
white ermine tails, black-and-white eagle feathers, [237]
eagle plumes, other feathers, and beads, bells, and
porcupine quills. They are kept in long, tubular [415]
cases of red, blue, or black wool stroud cloth, the
kind with the white selvedges brought to our
People by traders of the long-ago. These cloth
covers replaced the original buckskin covers as
they wore out.

Spiritually, the sacred Stems represent all the 778
Holy Powers of the Universe. They were first 776
given by Thunder, who embodies the rain-water 276
that helps to make everything grow. The wood 824
stems represent all the plants that grow upon
Earth; the eagle tailfeathers represent all the 825
Above Powers, including all the birds, the eagle
being the most Powerful among them; the ermine
skins stand for all the Below Powers, including
the animals that walk on Earth; and the beads
and bells symbolize all the goodness and beauty of
the Universe. The sacred Stems are attached to [823]
stone bowls that represent the strength of our
Earth Mother. Her Spirit travels in the form of
smoke along the long and straight path of the
sacred Stem, into the body of the smoker, and as
he exhales it, up into the air that flows throughout
the Universe. The physical appearance of a
sacred Pipe represents all the holy beauty that can
be found if one lives by its holy Ways.

No one knows exactly how many sacred 778
Pipes were made among our People throughout 276
the ages, but there were probably no more than a
few dozen. Shortly after 1900, Clark Wissler
made an extensive study and concluded that there
were "something more than seventeen" Medicine

[p. 124-8]

ferred ownership within their own group. When 778
the People moved on to the reserve, they settled 432
there according to their bands. Thus, some of our [657]
Old People knew quite well the histories of the
Bundles among their own band, while they knew [361]
little about other Bundles.

Bundles are the spiritual property of their 778
Keeper, or Owner. Our People used to live with 42
the fact that owned property could be reclaimed at any time by nature, through loss, damage, or death. They believed that owning something meant caring for it until it was claimed by a stronger Power.

TWO MEDICINE PIPE TRANSFERS: 1890s

Many firsthand narratives of long-ago Medicine 778
Pipe ceremonies are available among the Piegans, 796
but not so many among our People, the Bloods. The oldest record among the few comes from the
papers of Robert Wilson in the 1890s. Those who [178]
took part in the ceremonies he witnessed still practiced their Old Ways daily, but even then were no longer totally dependent on nature in their way of life, so that they could not fully relate to the representations of nature inside the Bundles.

Although Wilson was not always aware of [114]
the meanings of the symbols he saw, I will pass on [127]
to you what he wrote.

> *Sacred pipe holders are easily distinguished* 793
> *by the free use of red paint on their person, hav-* 778
> *ing it rubbed all over their white blanket or coat* [531]
> *and also over the leggings and moccasins, their*
> *wives painted the same. A pipe-holder wears upon* [301]
> *each wrist a blue bead tied with a buckskin strand, (the wife also; or, if man does not wear beads upon wrist, he will have one bead and a shell strung upon a buckskin string on his neck.)*
> *[The Owner and his wife wear both necklaces* [796]
> *and wristlets during the ceremony.] Children* [852]
> who have been painted during [the] ceremony of transfer also wear the beads.

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew 796
sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When 778
they are through the blanket is taken down. The 432
candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of [824]
clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives [261]
are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to
incense before being put on. Candidate now gets [824]
up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in
hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage
the first four steps. A painted white horse is wait- [231]
ing outside which he mounts, and there is handed [531]
him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his
arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to [533]
candidate lodge which the latter enters [candi- [534]
date enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the
horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to
vendor's lodge]; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside
[vendor's lodge] having in their hands both pipestems, owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a line and sing while the four drummers form another line behind and they all move off, singing, to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing forwards and backwards, at times facing around when they at last arrive at candidate's lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return [to vendor's lodge], candidate at once comes out [from his own lodge] and, mounting horse which had been brought around again, he comes back to [vendor's] lodge and enters. As he enters, the drummers all take hold of a common pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting, until he passes in, when they lift their heads and go to work at their drums.

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much [535]
like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes being four up at once. Head bands and
feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as [852]
a curtain, closing from view the man and boy.
The two priests take the front locks of hair of [302]
each [the man and boy] and form a top-knot by [237]
braiding out one braid in front and doubling it back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided lock], making a long roll sticking out over the

[p.130-B]

times, facing each of the four directions. The 796
dancing party stands on a walkway made up of 778
blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to 535
the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this 562
Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other.

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the 796
sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to 778
the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid [782]
the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks
like a miniature goal post. The drummers began [533]
the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe
Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied [534]
by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed.

During the introductory song, Mokakin got 796
up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went 778
up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles 783
from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the
needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit [824]
a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed [261]
down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle.

One of the two Pipestems was very simply 796
decorated, while the other was more fully deco- 778
rated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple 276
pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter
looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. [531] ●
The secondary Pipe is usually more recently [237]
made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe.

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796
778
782

[p.134-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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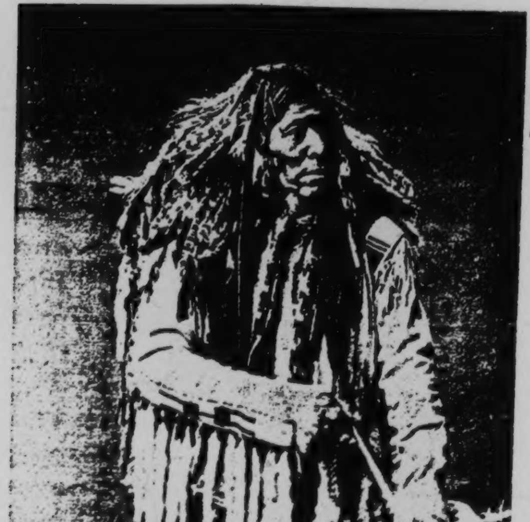

Day Chief in 1895. He was also known as Thunder Chief. (Steele & Co.)

[p. 143-B]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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302
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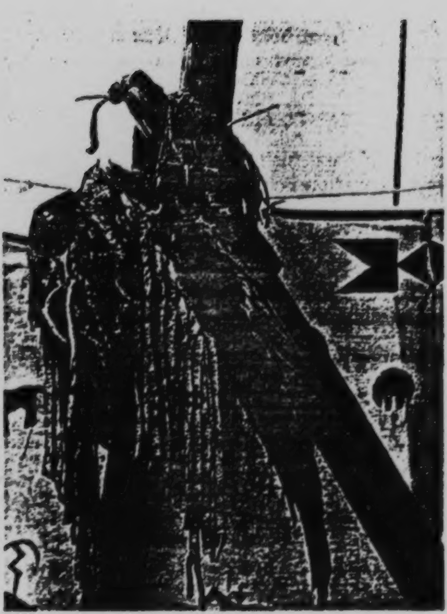
[144] Bobtail Chief, also known as Lone Medicine Pipe Owner and Apikuni, in 1958, shortly before his death. He was a former Owner of the Long-Time Pipe and the last man who could open the Bundle properly. His father was a non-Indian trader, but he chose to follow the life of his mother's People. (Glenbow Archives)

[P.148-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



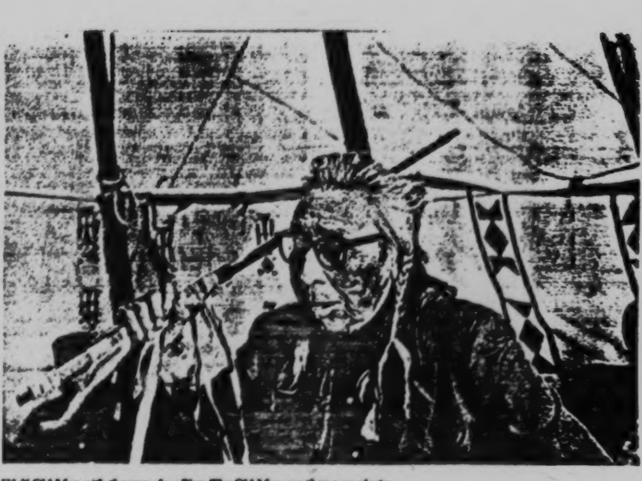
796
778
415
531 ●
532
237
283
417

Accessories for the Long-Time Pipe: a rawhide bag for paints and necklaces; an eagle-wing fan for the Owner; a braided rawhide rope for the Owner to use when horse raiding; and the wooden tripod to hang the Bundle on.

[p.150-c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
276
302
● 531
291
142



Wolf Old Man with the secondary Pipe. The Old Man was then over ninety.

[P. 152]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
778
276
432
●531
142
302
292

Henry Standing Alone bids farewell to the sacred Pipe that he and his wife once owned. The Bundle was sold by his sister and brother-in-law.

[p.154-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Medicine Pipe Bundle. George First Rider's 778
father, Dog Child, had this Pipe for a short time,
and of course, George has a story to tell about it.

This Pipe was a man-made Pipe. It was con- 778
structed by Lone Invitation Caller. It was a Black- 276
Covered Pipe, constructed in a different way, like 531
a Water Bundle Pipe [a Beaver Bundle Pipe]. 237
Eagle tailfeathers strung together like a fan were attached to the Pipe. [The war Pipes that we call Black-Covered Pipes are basically like Beaver Pipes; neither has a fan of eagle feathers and both have Stems covered all over with eagle plumes. This Bad Medicine Pipe had a fan of eagle feathers and was placed inside a black covering.]

But the Pipe was useless. It was then called the Hairlock Pipe.

After Lone Invitation Caller had constructed 778
the Pipe, he gave it to his friend Bull Limper 425
(Spear Chief). Lone Invitation Caller didn't perform a miracle with the Pipe, he just transferred the Pipe at the home of Spear Chief. It takes four days to transfer a Medicine Pipe, but Lone Invitation Caller didn't transfer his Pipe in the proper manner.

Before winter came, Spear Chief's wife died. 778
Then he realized that the Pipe was a fake, so he 784
cut the tails from the beaver pelts and sold them. A little while later Spear Chief died, and his son, White Leggings (Harry Spear Chief), kept the Pipe. White Leggings took sick and he almost died. Then he gave it to Little White Weasel Calf [Dog Child, George's father]. But I told him, "Put that Pipe away, it's a fake!"

So the Pipe was taken across the U.S. border, and it was there for a year. Nobody ever bought the Pipe because it was newly made. Then it was brought back and Little White Weasel Calf gave it to Little Eagle Ribs [Joe Eagle Ribs]. Right after Little Eagle Ribs took the Pipe, Little White Weasel Calf's wife died, and pretty soon he did, too. Little Eagle Ribs took the Pipe, and before it was transferred to him, he died. His

[p. 165-A]

it had belonged to a man named Small Eyes, or 778
Gros Ventre Boy, as he was also known.

According to Mrs. Walters's notes, this Bundle 779
contained no bird or animal skins. Its main 276
contents were the sacred Pipe wrapped in cloth 531
and a rawhide bag filled with paints and other 237
accessories. Part of a red shawl covered these things. The sacred Pipe was "covered with beads, furs, and feathers." Its mouthpiece was bare of decoration and showed the careful work and smooth, glossy finish it received from its maker. Most of the Stem was fully covered with fluffy eagle plumes. A number of spiritual decorations were suspended from the Stem. Most outstanding of these was a "layer of eagle feathers, each quill reinforced with a strip of rawhide, wrapped with quills, and tipped with a bit of weasel fur and human hair." A tiny Iniskim was attached to the base of these feathers with a thong. Fastened securely at another point along the Stem was a tiny bead-edged sack, probably containing some previous Owner's personal Medicine. Six bunches of fluffy eagle plumes hung from the Stem by strands of blue-green beads. Also attached to the Stem was a buffalo tail, decorated with strips of weasel skin, pieces of red cloth and porcupine quills, and a long tassel of horse hair, decorated in the same way.

The rawhide case was made of elk hide in the [415]
old-style boat shape. It was rectangular and its upper corners ended in angular peaks similar to the forward point of a boat. The bag contained a calf skin with the hair still on. Wrapped in a bed of shedded buffalo hair in the calf skin were nine Iniskims. One Iniskim had been carved to look
like a man. Also in the bag were the remains of a [417]
feather originally worn by the Owners, a wrapped-up Iniskim taken on war trails, a bag of black paint and a paint stick, a bag of red paint, two pieces of stone remnants of former Pipe-bowls, and a rawhide-covered piperest. This piperest was about four inches in diameter and contained part of a buffalo chip. It was covered with five rows of old pony beads and sacred paint. The bowl of the ordinary smoking pipe, which was used during the ceremony always rested on this chip.

[P 167-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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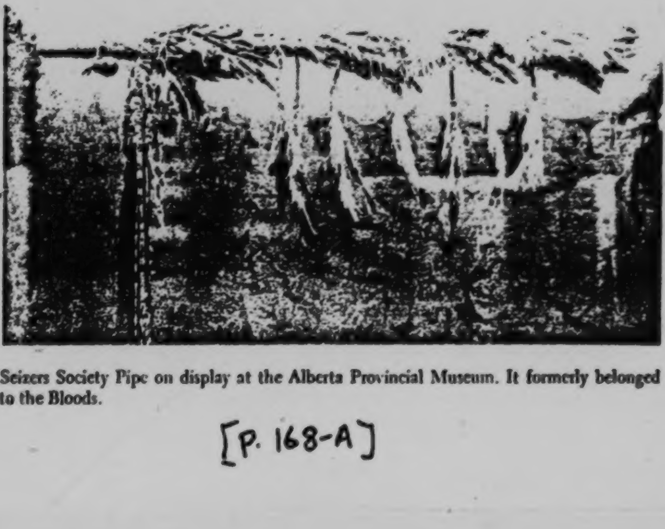
531 ●



Seizers Society Pipe on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum. It formerly belonged to the Bloods.

[P. 168-A]

Few old Iniskims of this kind still exist, as they 778
are usually buried with the persons who find [764]
them.

When a spiritual-looking stone was found, it [793]
was brought to a holy man or woman, who
blessed it with a covering of sacred paint, sang the
ceremonial songs, and, after thus endowing it,
awarded this new Iniskim to the finder.

Iniskim necklaces were commonly worn, [301]
especially by children. At ceremonies, our Old
Man wore a bead-decorated one given to him in
childhood by his grandfather, Owl Boy. He in- [237]
structed us to keep Iniskims on our altar at camp,
and while traveling to wrap them up in a layer of [415]
matted buffalo hair and keep them inside a raw-
hide bag. Such bags are usually square, with long
fringes of buckskin along the sides, and decora-
tions of colored geometric designs. These bags are
usually large enough to hold most of a family's
sacred articles—incense, paints, necklaces, feath-
ers, smoking mixtures.

The Old Man used to keep at his house a [353]
little earth-filled box that sat between his stove
and rear wall. It was his altar for making incense.
Inside it were several small Iniskims, each resting [237]
on a little cushion of buffalo hair. Some of the
stones looked like standing persons; others resem-
bled buffalo. One was simply a smooth, round [531]
pebble. All were covered with sacred red paint.

[p. 169-B]

wash by people with curly and kinky hair to 515
cure what they considered their undesirable 826
appearance.

YARROW (*Achillea millefolium*): This plant 824
was also called "having a pine stem."
Chewed white flowers were used to poultice 757
swellings, including mumps. Leaves were
brewed for liver ailments and hemorrhages,
and horses with sore eyes. Several cups of the 844
brew were said to help speed up labor during
childbirth. The leaves were sometimes used 782
for a special incense during Beaver Bundle
transfer ceremonies.

OTHER USES OF PLANTS

Besides food and medicine, our Old People found 824
many day-to-day uses for various parts of plants.

TOBACCO that our Old People smoked was a 276
mixture of commercial tobacco and the [137]
leaves of the bearberry plant (*Arctostaphylos
uva-ursi*). This plant was also called *kinnikinick*, "that which is mixed." Although it
grows on the prairies, only the mountain variety is used for smoking; the prairie kind smells like grass when it is burned.

Bearberry leaves can be picked from their low-growing shrub throughout the year. The leaves are separated from the stems, and then dried, crushed, and mixed for smoking. They are more properly prepared by first washing, to remove the bitter taste, then greased with kidney fat and placed in an oven to dry. This is called "frying your kinnikinick."
The fried leaves are placed in a [4115]
cloth bag and crushed into smaller pieces, which are then stored in special bags made from the skins of unborn fawns and buffalo calves.

BEADS were made from the dried fruits of a 8;24
number of plants, including silverberries, rose
hips, and juniper berries. These beads were [531]

[p. 189-A]

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21: Hungry Wolf  F-4,5  (ca. 1972) 1977
                  NF6 Blackfoot NF6
                              Blood
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once used to decorate buckskin clothing, before traders brought glass beads to our People. Berries, too, were often strung to make necklaces and wristlets. They were made in this way: A fire was started with dry wood, then grease was dropped on the wood. The necklaces and wristlets were held in the greasy smoke until they were covered with an even layer of dark grease. Then they were polished with a soft piece of buckskin to a very pleasant finish. 824 [531] ● [301]

Berry stones were also placed inside rawhide rattles. [534]

DYES were made from a number of plants: owl clover made red; violet flowers made blue; some lichens were used to make green; and the roots of the Oregon grape, yellow. [386]

Plants also provided stuffing for pillows and saddles, and carpeting inside of tipis. Uses for their various woods ranged from fire fuel and holding up lodge covers to making bows, arrows, and traps.

BIRDS AND ANIMALS

Because the Old People lived their days with the birds and animals, the names they called them generally summarized an outstanding trait or characteristic. Some birds and animals are named for their similarity to others, often indicated by the prefix *big*. 825

This first list concerns the names of birds.

BIRD: The general word for bird is *piksi*, although the exact meaning has been lost. Small birds are *sistsi;* very small birds are *poksistsi*. 825

EAGLE: There are two kinds, the golden eagle and the bald-headed eagle. *Pitai* designates the golden eagle; *ksikichkinni*, or "white head," the bald eagle.

HAWK: The hawks as a group are *aiinnimaiaks*, or "seizers." The large rough-legged

[p.189-B]

Skinned elk heads or leg hides were sewn to- 237
gether as berry bags. The long, smooth elk [415]
ribs made excellent runners for children's
sleds. An elk's canine teeth, easy to remove [493]
because they do not grow into the jawbone, [361]
were highly valued decorations for women's [531]
dresses, men's vests, and necklaces. They are
still valuable today.

A delicacy among our People was elk's 262
rectum. Unlike many other animals, the elk 252
has a very clean rectum. Before cooking, it was washed and stuffed with serviceberries and fat. Then the top ashes in the fireplace were scraped away and the stuffed rectum placed over the bottom layer of coals. When the top ashes were replaced, a small fire was built over the ashes. The man of the household would invite distinguished guests to share the delicacy with him. The end was cut off and given to the dogs; the rest was sliced up into small pieces for the People. This greasy, sweet, and spicy delicacy was considered "a meal for a chief."

MOOSE: *Sixtsi-sou*. The first part of the name
refers to the animal's basic black color; the 925
second part connotes "coming through," referring to the moose's characteristic charge, even through brush and trees, when disturbed or angry. Our Old People did not often venture into country where moose were found.

Moose nose was another culinary deli- [262]
cacy. In addition, large moose antlers were
used to make bowls, and emergency mocca- [237]
sins could be fashioned from the peeled-off [415]
skin of moose hocks. [291]

MULE DEER: *Is-sikotuye*, or "black-tipped tail."

WHITE-TAILED DEER: *Auwah-tuye*, or "waving the tail from side to side." This ancient name originally meant something like "waving their tails like dogs."

CARIBOO: *Omach-tsistsini*, or "big hoof." It

[p. 192-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

centre of the 18 altars, and the old members 575
made incense by sprinkling upon them a small 796
quantity of dried grass. Each old member next 432
made four passes with his hands from incense to
the bag on the staff and then untied it and after
passing it [four times to the altar] he laid it upon
the ground. The bags were at once opened and
the head dresses etc., which they contained were
taken out and exposed to view. Each candidate [302]
was now painted by the old member whose regalia
and position in the Society he was about to
acquire. Some were painted red, others yellow; in
all cases they were painted from head to foot.
Some had their faces painted jet black and a red
stripe from ear to ear across the eyes and another
red stripe across the mouth. In the meantime, the
wives of 4 of those who sat behind the short staffs
were putting together 4 large war bonnets which
they stuck upon the staffs. A number of dark
clouds from the north were at this time overshadowing
the camp and from them a few drops
of rain were falling, the appearance in fact was in
favour of a rainy afternoon. Running Wolf, two [782]
other men and Running Wolf's wife stood up in [789]
a row facing the entrance and behind them stood
an old man who in a loud voice prayed that the
rain storm should pass to one side or the other
and not interfere with the sacred proceedings. He
prayed 4 times with a pause between each.

White Calf now took down, or rather pulled
up, Running Wolf's staff and held it horizontally
over the altar. In a loud voice he made a prayer, [782]
and when near the end of it, he put a daub or two [531]
of red earth paint upon it. At the conclusion of
the prayer he covered the pole from one end to
the other with the red earth which was mixed
with grease and of a pink shade. When White
Calf had finished, all the other poles were taken
up by the instructor of old members and painted
in the same manner, but all the short staffs and
some of the long ones were yellow. From each of
the bags before-mentioned, was taken a long strip
of fur with which to wrap the long staffs from end

[p.205-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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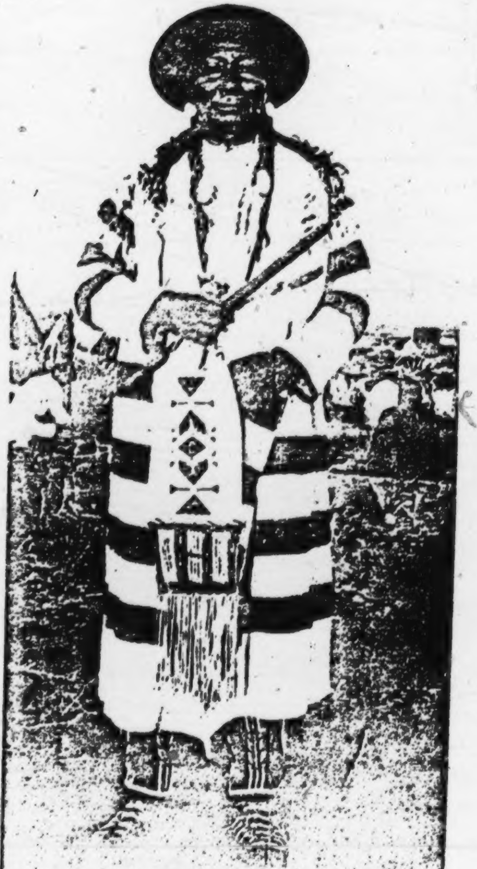
531●



Mountain Horse, standing before a gathering of the Horns Society, in 1910. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.213-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

bers suddenly noticed they were facing a large 575
enemy war party that had concealed itself near 796
the camp. The Braves, carrying only their spears,
stood little chance in a direct encounter, so the
society leader ordered the members to resume
dancing. The performance so impressed the
enemy that they retreated.

Within these societies were usually two 575
members known as Bears. These Bears had the 554
publicly accepted right to appropriate food from
someone for the use of all the members. If they [425]
saw a successful hunter returning home they
could demand a portion of his meat to be used as
a meal for the society. The Bears could be identified [292]
by their painting, clothing, and other insignias,
especially a headdress made from a strip of [237]
bear fur with two claws attached to resemble
small horns on the wearer's head. Percy Creighton [439]
bought one of these headdresses from old Gambler
and sold it to Mrs. Walters for forty-five dollars. [435]
It had belonged to the Brave Dogs Society.

Some of our older men are still members of 575
the now-inactive Brave Dogs Society, as it is
known among our division. The Piegans call the
same group the Crazy Dogs Society. Meetings of [619]
one group may be attended by members from
other divisions. They can often be recognized during [531]
our social dances, or powwows, by their membership
insignias—individually painted rawhide [237]
rattles, which they carry suspended from their [534]
wrists by fur straps. Traditionally, each member
painted his face according to the design on his [302]
rattle.

Social societies of male contemporaries are 575
still formed among our People. Today there are 178
the Red Belts, the Magpies, and the Parted-Hairs.
One group, called the Baggy Underwears, is making
an effort to take on a new name.

[p. 215-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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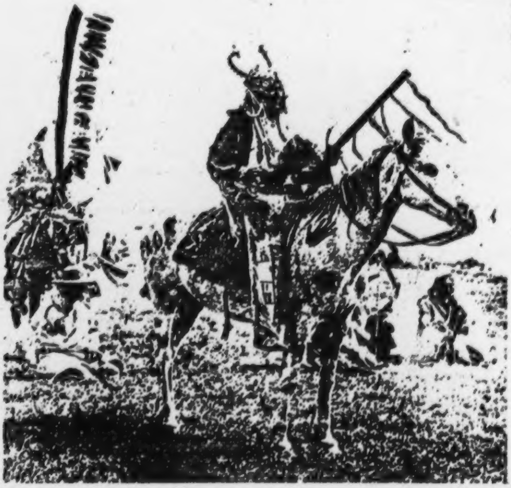
532



Mountain Horse, leader of the Crow Carriers Society, dressed for battle. He wears a Medicine
headdress, as well as a weasel-tail suit of shirt and leggings. Each of these articles was transferred [422]
ceremonially. Symbols of scalps he has taken are tied to his rifle. The hand on his horse represents
an enemy he killed in a hand-to-hand encounter; the two large spots represent places where horses [796]
he was riding were shot in battle. On the horse behind him is old Bumble Bee, who is holding a
staff of the Crow Carrier's Society. Bumble Bee enlisted in the armed forces at the same time as [703]
did several of Mountain Horse's sons. However, he could speak no English and refused to cut his
hair, so he was sent back home. Before he left he is said to have told the other Blood soldiers: [177]
"Don't be foolish like these white soldiers. They call off the war every day at mealtime. You boys
want to keep on shooting, even if you see them sitting down to eat." (Glenbow Archives)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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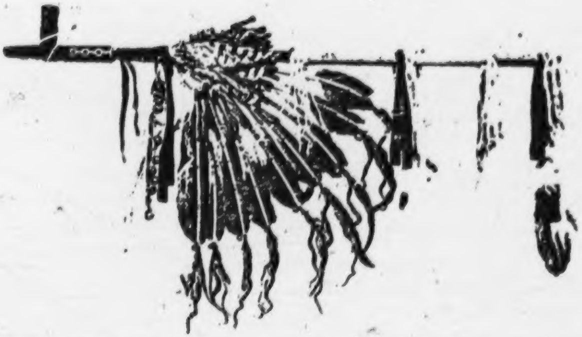

A sacred Pipe, possibly from Red Crow's Medicine Pipe Bundle, which he owned in 1892. The Bowl is of the type made by eastern tribes; the sacred Stem may have come with the Bowl from one of those tribes. (R. N. Wilson)

[P.245-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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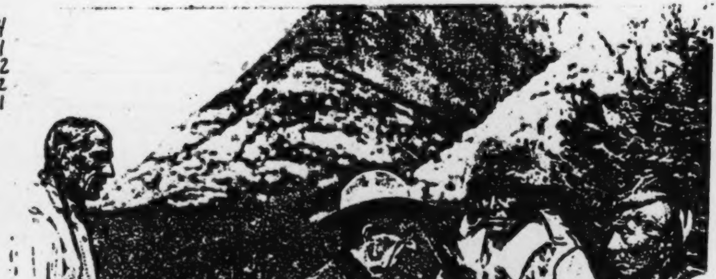

[562]
[555]

James Willard Shultz, the writer, with some of his Blood friends at Waterton Lake in 1928. From left to right: Bobtail Chief; his wife; Schultz, or Apikunni; Many Mules; and Weasel Tail. In the foreground is the wife of Weasel Tail. Though it may look odd for a woman to wear a war bonnet—and this one belonged to Bobtail Chief—her adventures and coups on warpaths with her husband gave her that right.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

793
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237
531 ●

Natosina (Son Chief) or Eagle Plume, as he was in 1920's. The shirt was his prize one, decorated with locks of hair from friends and relatives. (Glacier Studios)

---

they were little boys, found out what might happen if Natosina were interrupted while smoking. The two boys had been out for some time chopping firewood. It was a cold day and they were tired, so they eagerly headed for the warm house. 793 276 784

[p.265-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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531
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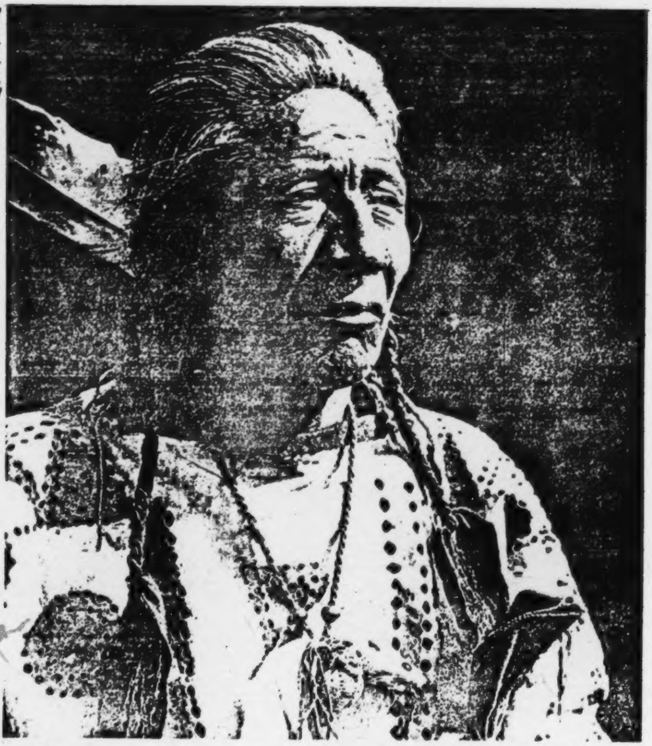


Weasel Tail, around 1910, wearing his sacred shirt and his Weasel Medicine, which helped protect him on his war trails. (Pollard Photo)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

MacLeod. He was one of the group that escaped 159
from that stockade and sought sanctuary in the [727]
States among their Piegan relatives. Unlike Bird
Rattler, however, Weasel Tail returned to his
Blood People after the escape was officially forgotten.
He stayed on the Blood Reserve until his
final years, when he again moved south to the
Piegan Reservation. He died in 1950, at the age of
ninety-one.

Weasel Tail attributed his Power to several 778
visions and Medicines. Among them were his own 787
personal sacred helpers, the otter and the kingbird. 726
He carried parts of both with him wherever
he went. When he went on raids and battles he [237]
usually wore a small bunch of sage hen tail-
feathers that had once belonged to his father. His [714]
grandmother had saved the sacred feathers upon
the death of his father, and given them to him
when he was old enough to go to war. Another [292]
Medicine he wore to war consisted of a wolf cap
and robe, given to him in a dream.

Eagle Child taught Weasel Tail how to paint 531 ●
his horse for battle. He told him, "This you will 789
do to prevent the bullets and the arrows of the
enemy hitting you or your horse. You will paint 231
the horse's right shoulder and right hindquarters 822
with red dots. Why? Because when you shoot a bullet through the flame of a fire, the flame is not injured, not even touched by the bullet; and red paint represents the color of the fire flame. You will paint the horse's left shoulder and left hindquarters with white clay spots. Why? When you shoot a bullet or arrow through the smoke of a fire, the smoke is not injured or touched; therefore, the white dots upon your horse represent smoke, and that gives you the power of smoke, you and your horse, even as the red dots give you the power of fire flame, to be unhurt by the bullets and arrows of the enemy."

Before leaving on their journey, the members 726
of a war party usually met in front of their [533]
leader's lodge, and sang songs. One of Weasel
Tail's favorite songs for such occasions had these

[p. 267-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

words in it: "Girl I love, don't worry about me. 726
I'll be eating berries coming home." Some of the [533]
time, however, the girl he loved had no reason to
worry about him, for she went with him on his
war adventures. He explained it this way: "My [562]
wife said she loved me, and if I was to be killed
on a war party she wanted to be killed too. I took
her with me on five raids. Some of them I led,
and my wife was not required to perform the
cooking or other chores. She carried a six-shooter. [411]
On one occasion she stole a horse with a saddle,
ammunition bag, and war club."

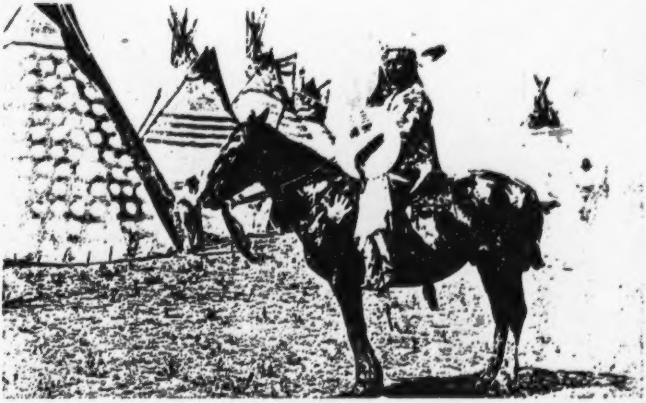
In 1929 Weasel Tail was camped by Water- 000

292
237
531

Eagle Child. He was apprehended at the end of his last [685]
horse raid by an Indian policeman named High Tree. He [625]
aimed his gun and the policeman fled. He then claimed
the name High Tree and gave it to his grandson. (Glacier [551]
Studio)
[553]

[p. 267-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



361
532
531
714
237

Weasel Tail ready for battle. His face is painted and he carries his Medicine shield, rifle, and coup stick. He often wore an eagle feather in his hair. He is also wearing his sacred shirt, designed with paint and perforations and said to be impenetrable by bullets or arrows. And in fact, he lived through many battles to tell about them. His horse's tail is tied up in the war party style, and is symbolically painted: the hands represent enemies killed by Weasel Tail in hand-to-hand encounters, while the white spot on the hip shows where one of Weasel Tail's horses was once hit during battle. At the left is his Yellow-Star Tipi, with his wife standing outside. (Glenbow Archives)

[411]
[778]
[789]

[P-268-A)

arouse it, and rode back home as fast as he could. 586
When Cree Man arrived at the camp, Calf Shirt 593
asked for the snake. Cree Man began to shake 825
and cry. He was afraid to touch the snake again
lest it bite his stomach. Calf Shirt told him to spit 789
some more of the plant on his hands and on the
snake's head, after which Cree Man was able to
pick up the snake. Calf Shirt put it into a white
sugar bag.

Cree Man returned to his home with his wife, but he was unable to sleep for several nights. He continued to have nightmares about rattlesnakes. Calf Shirt sent some sacred paint to him and told him to keep using rattlesnakes for his Power, now that he knew how to handle them. Cree Man just wanted to forget the whole experience.

Calf Shirt used his Rattlesnake Power to 756
doctor various ailments. One of his specialties was 842
sterilizing women. Among his doctoring articles
was a buckskin snake that was painted black and [237]
had a green glass bead attached to the head and a
small bell to the tail. He would lay this snake next [531]
to a woman's body, sing his song and give her
some kind of Medicine, and the woman would
never have children again.

Oddly enough, however, he did not have the 756
Power to doctor rattlesnake bites. One time he 752
was careless with the one that he carried with him
and it bit him. His relative, old Weasel Head, [759]
paid a good horse to a deaf old woman who was
able to doctor Calf Shirt until he was well.

The Old Man said that Calf Shirt was 756
famous everywhere, but that few people came 231
very near him, because they feared his snakes. He
always kept one in a cloth or buckskin bag inside [554]
his shirt, by his stomach. The Old Man said, "If
he came and sat down at a dance or gathering,
everyone around him would get up in a hurry and
sit somewhere else. We always wondered what he
fed his snakes."

Calf Shirt's Powers taught him to design a 756
sacred tipi. It was painted blue and had rattle- 778
532

[p.271-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Pretty Wolverine Woman, about twenty years after Charcoal was hanged and her lover was killed. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

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though they knew the Mounties would jail them for giving him help. In fact, Charcoal's two brothers had already been jailed, along with their families, in a police effort to force Charcoal to surrender. One of the brothers was very ill, so the other brother asked the police to release him. Instead of releasing the ill brother, they kept him and both families. They let the healthy one go and told him that the rest would be freed when Charcoal was brought in. 682 657 [687]

Thus Charcoal was overpowered and turned

[p. 282-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Crow-Spreads-His-Wings at Fort MacLeod in 1947.

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have two wives, both of whom outlived him. 793

Crow-Spreads-His-Wings was the son of 756
Wolf Old Man and the half-brother of our Old [595]
Man, the two having different mothers. His head wife was a holy woman and a very successful doctor. He, too, was a good doctor, in addition to leading Medicine Lodge ceremonies and all kinds of other holy gatherings. The family were Keepers of our Medicine Pipe Bundle many years ago.

[p. 284-B]

pinto tied in front of a lodge. "Hai-Jah," he thought to himself, "there is that fast pinto stolen from us a while back." So he cut the pinto loose and took it home. 721

Again some time went by. In 1908, the Bloods held a big July dance in their new dance hall on the reserve. Many visitors came from all over, including a number of Crows. Calf Robe had, long before, made a wooden replica of the prize pinto that he had stolen and then lost, and he carried the replica whenever he danced. On this occasion he hung the replica from a stick at one corner of the dance hall. Sometime during the 535 177 [532] [201] [555]

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Calf Robe in 1910. (Pollard Photo)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Charlie Goodrider dressed in his finest, as he often was.

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came involved in any shooting, the Duncan Shade Gang was respected by the People of the reserve. But it happened that they were eventually traced back to the Blood Reserve when one of the gang was discovered selling a stolen horse with a recognized brand. The Mounted Police brought several of the white ranchers to the reserve to look over the horse herds; they found many horses they'd been missing. A few of the gang were actually captured by the Mounties.

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[p.303-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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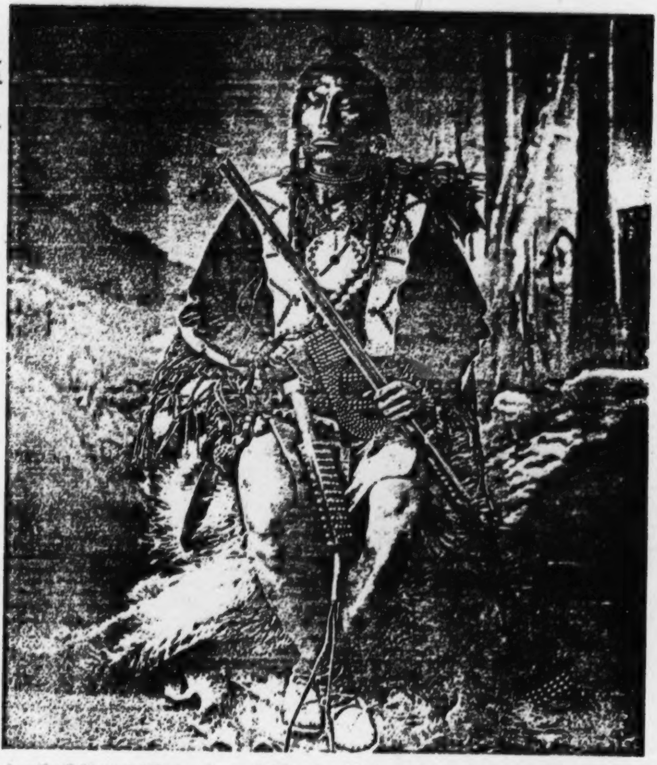

[778] [714] An unidentified but typical Blood warrior around 1885, at the end of the war days. His fine flintlock rifle is decorated with brass tacks, as is his horse whip, which doubled as a war club, his wide belt, and the large knife case in front. His war Medicine consists of a bandolier made of large seeds to which is attached a bunch of hawk and owl feathers. (Ernest Brown)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Mountain Horse. (Glacier Studio)

Mike Oka. (Glacier Studio)

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[p.317-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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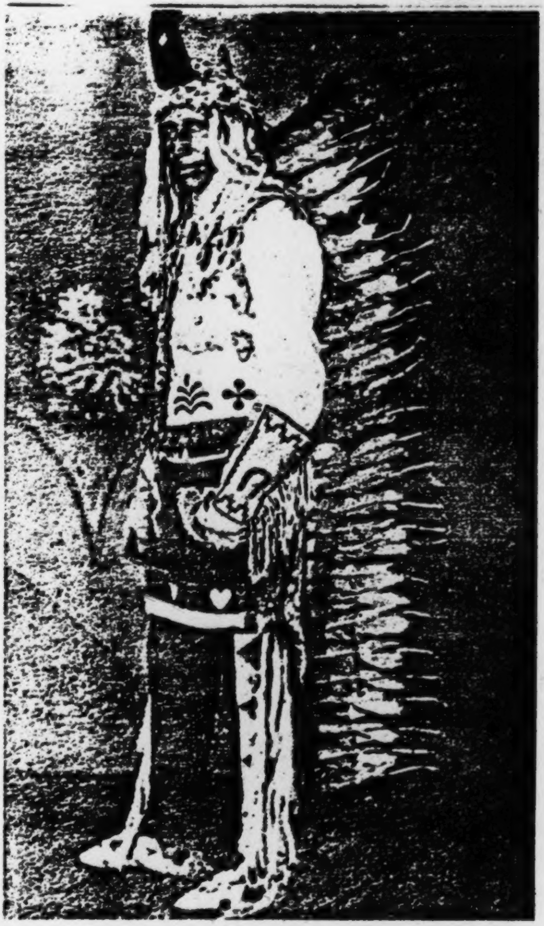

Nick King and the famous One-Horn Headdress. This [701]
photo was taken just before he left for overseas duty with
the Canadian forces during World War I. The headdress [648]
was considered a very powerful war medicine, so Nick
King took it apart, packed it inside of its rawhide con- [415]
tainer, and took it with him to the war in Europe. It is
not known that he actually wore it in battle, but it is said
that someone in Europe took a great liking to it, for he
did not bring it back to the Blood Reserve. (Glenbow
Archives)

[p.320-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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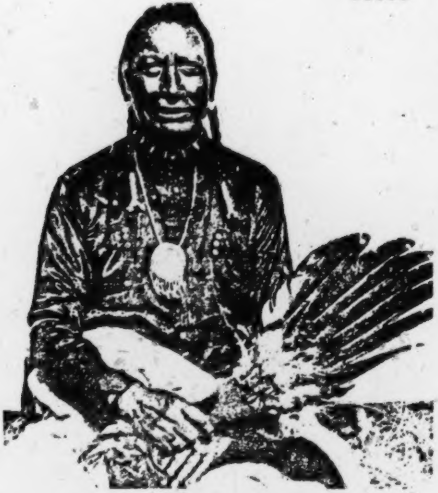

Rides-at-the-Door in 1951. His widow is today the only holy woman left on our reserve. He is wearing his Sun Power necklace. (Phillip Godsell)

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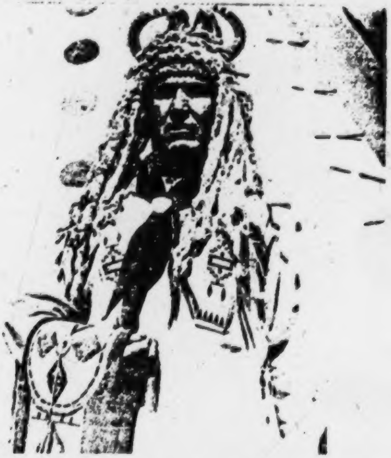

Percy Creighton, or Chief Little Dog, as he often signed his name. He is wearing the famous Half-Red Medicine Headdress, burnt in the fire at the old dance hall, in which he was killed. Creighton was caretaker of the hall. (Arnold Lupson)

[p. 322-4]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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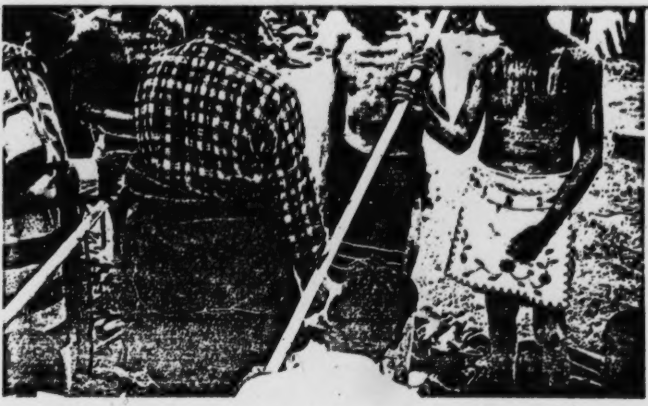

The painted new Horns members listen while old members pray and recite coups in order to paint the staffs and cover them with their sacred wrappings. On the left is Dog Child.

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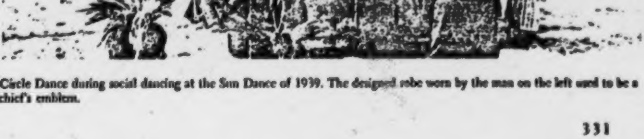

[622] Circle Dance during social dancing at the Sun Dance of 1939. The designed robe worn by the man on the left used to be a chief's emblem.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Joe Young Pine, around 1915. He cut his braids shortly before going to Australia. To his right stands Ernest Brave Rock, brother of Mrs. Wadsworth. Seated before them is the wife of Joe's older brother, Black Sleeps. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

829
worry about somebody taking off in my car and 493
wrecking it. That used to happen a lot. [164]
I used to race chuckwagons at all the rodeos [273]
and stampedes. In 1939 I was one of the fellows [541]
that was sent to Australia from this reserve. We
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[p.334-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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The Long-Time Pipe after its return to the Blood People. Its new Owner, Many Grey Horses, wanted this picture to be included in the book so that history would see the ancient Bundle as more than just a museum relic. The Owners are seated on the left. Barely visible is the wife of Apikayi (Bob Black Plume). He led the opening ceremony before his final switch to the Full Gospel faith and his death right after that. The ancient Bundle rests in the center.

[p. 363-A]

796 The men sit on the north side and the women on the south. At the proper
782 moment, the mother brings in the tongues, passing around to the south side,
252 and lays them in rows on a half rawhide back of the fire. All the women
having made vows are now called upon to slice the tongues. Their husbands
must be present.

796 The tongues are slit open and the women are invited to slice and boil
them. When all the guests are present, one of the tongues is taken and
252 painted black on one edge and red on the other, and given to the woman
who made the vow. The rest of the tongues are handed to the women for
skinning and slicing; if there were more tongues than women, each was
given more than one to slice. After all the women have the tongues,
[783] the woman with the painted tongue makes a confession, saying, "Sun, I
have been true to my husband ever since I have been with him and all my
life. Help me, for what I say is true. I will skin this tongue without
cutting a hole in it or cutting my fingers."

[783] The next woman also makes a confession, and so on. After all have confessed, they commence to skin the tongues. As the first woman takes up the knife, the song runs: "A sharp thing I have taken; it is powerful." The knife is painted, one half red, the other black. Should any of the women cut a hole in the tongue skin or cut their fingers, it is a sign that they must have lied and they are ordered from the tipi. At the outset, each woman carefully examines her tongue to see if the skin is perfect. Should a hole be found, the tongue is passed to the director who marks it with black paint. After the tongues are all skinned and sliced, they are passed back to the woman who distributed them and placed in a wooden bowl. The skins of the tongues are tied in bunches with sinew so that they can tell to which woman the skins belong.

The skins are to be boiled by two women. Two sticks are given to one woman and one to the other. All this time singing is going on. The woman who has the two sticks paints them black, while the woman who has the other, paints it red. The three sticks are tied together at one end and are used as a tripod for hanging the kettle in which the skins of the tongues
are to be boiled. The legs of the tripod, the wooden kettle hook, and all
[531] other sticks are painted half in red and half in black. Also, the kettle is
marked with four vertical bands of black and four of red. The four blunt
sticks for stirring the pot are painted in pairs, red and black. A red and
black painted stick is slipped through the bail, passed around to the north
of the tipi, and handed to the two women. During all these movements
796 there is praying and singing. The women each take hold of one end of the
stick and go for water.

[782] They make four pauses on this journey, each time praying to the sun and

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

asserting their marital rectitude and recounting such occasions as they have 796
been improperly approached by a man. All this time, the father and his [782)
assistants sing in the tipi. One of the women takes a cup, makes four
movements with it and dips the water. At this moment the song runs:— [533)

"The water that I see.
Water is sacred."

On the return, the women make four pauses as before. When the pail is
finally within the tipi, incense is burned between the fireplace and the
door and the pail held in the smudge. The father takes up the board upon
which some of the tongues lie and while holding it up in one hand, shakes
the cup about in the water, meanwhile making a noise like the buffalo,
finally striking the pail a blow with the cup. Here the song runs:— [533)

"Buffalo will drink."

This may be taken as marking one stage of the ceremony. The boiling of 796
the tongue is now in order. When all is ready, the father starts the songs 252
in the next series. The two women hook the kettle on the tripods and while [53)
the kettle is heated, there are other songs and incense burned and the song
runs:—

"Where I (buffalo speaking) sit is sacred."

While the water boils, the director takes up a tongue, holds it above the kettle, lowers it slowly, making a noise as if something were drinking. After this, the women place the tongues in the kettle and proceed with the boiling. Here or elsewhere, songs accompany the ceremonial acts. The pot must not boil over.

When the tongues have cooked, the two women rise and stand by the 796
fire as the songs begin. At the proper moment, they remove the kettle 252
and place it on the spot where the smudge was made. First, they take 533
out the painted tongues and then the others. The father takes up a small
piece, singing:—

"Old Man (sun), he wants pemmican.
He wants to eat.

Old Woman (moon), she wants back fat.
She wants to eat.

Morningstar, he wants broth.
He wants to eat."

796 346 313 [554] this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy. Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an enemy.

[493] [178] The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois horse.

796 346 The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs in the fork,[1] making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. It [531] seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was circled by two black bands and two red ones beneath these.

CUTTING THE THONGS.

[237] A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

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[824] [1] The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind: though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

294 Spear Woman had decided that her daughter should have a new
[777] gown of soft-tanned thin antelope skins, and there was much talk
[531] about the making of it. There should be, they decided, two suns of
red, white, and yellow porcupine quillwork on the breast; a red quill butterfly—symbol of good dreams and good luck—high up on the back; and from the waist down, rows of elk tushes. Six antelope skins were needed for it, the mother said, and it was for Eagle Head and me to furnish them.

224 So was it that we four rode out from camp early one morning—
[462] Eagle Head and I to hunt, mother and daughter to gather choke-
[533] cherries. As we turned from the camp, heading up the valley of the
Musselshell, Eagle Head broke out with the Defiance Song: "*Ahksi Kiwa! Ahksi Kiwa! Ahksi Kiwa!*" ("I care for nothing! I care for nothing! I care for nothing!").

777 "Eagle Head," exclaimed Spear Woman, "at once stop singing
533 that bad-luck song else you will get us into trouble! For three days
224 your uncle, Little Otter, sang it before he went out against that bad
Cutthroat, White Dog, and he never returned. It is an unlucky song for this family. I forbid you to sing it."

"*Ha!* Just your woman's thought of it. It is a good song; it makes one feel brave," he replied, but sang it no more.

224 After riding up the valley five or six miles we turned east into a
[291] wide brushy coulee. Eagle Head, wearing a cap made of the upper
[237] skin and horns of a buck antelope head, was in the lead. As we neared
the head of the coulee he motioned for us to stop and went on very slowly, rising often in his stirrups to get a view of the plain. Suddenly he ducked, slid from his horse, and beckoned us to join him. In a moment we were out of our saddles and beside him.

"Step out a little farther, look out through the brush and you will see them, a big band of antelope," he said.

Sure enough, well up on the slope of a ridge about a mile south of us was a band of a hundred or more, all lying down except three or four sentinel bucks keenly watching for the possible coming of enemies, wolves or men. Between them and us stretched a level plain, but close behind the ridge on which they were resting was a long coulee running down to the valley of the river.

Eagle Head spoke swiftly to his mother: "You and sister turn

778 When the call, "Here comes the medicine
784 pipe," is heard, the people quickly make a place for it to pass through, as misfortune would follow if anyone should pass in front of it. Nor is anyone permitted to pass between the bundle and
[761] the fireplace in the lodge. The ornaments on all
● [531] medicine pipes are carefully examined, and retied whenever necessary, for if any piece belonging to the pipe should fall off when the bundle is unwrapped, or during the dancing, such mishap would portend the early death of some member of the family.

778 The entire contents of the Catchers Society
[127] bundle, as listed in the Museum catalogue (No. 12/512), are as follow:

A wooden tripod, on top of which is attached a parflèche bag containing the following: four skin paint-bags tied together, all containing red paint; a cloth and bladder and a skin paint-bag tied together, the bladder bag containing a piece of grease, the other two, red paint; two cloth bags and one skin bag tied together, each containing red paint; three skin bags tied together, each containing red paint; a skin bag containing red paint and two wrist ornaments consisting of thongs, each decorated with a large glass bead; a tie-string of cloth; six leather thongs; a fragment of a weasel-skin bag; four weasel-skin bags,

714 even almost deaden the force of a bullet. They were always
[28] circular, from two to three feet in diameter, preserving
[237] their shape without the aid of a frame, of which they were
● [531] destitute. These were always handsomely ornamented with
[533] eagles' feathers and gaudily painted by the medicine men,
who dedicated them with religious rites and songs, without which they were supposed to have no virtue. This shield was carried upon the left arm and formed an indispensable
439 part of every warrior's equipment. When the trading posts
714 of the American Fur Company were established in their
177 country, the company caused a quantity of polished metal
178 shields to be manufactured, which it sought to introduce
[156] in lieu of those of their own manufacture. The attempt,
[434] however, was opposed by the medicine men, who would thus
have been deprived of an important source of revenue, and the superstitious feelings of the Indians induced them to prefer their own which alone could undergo religious dedication and enjoy the favor of the Great Spirit.

LODGES

342 The lodges were made of buffalo skin, tanned without
[281] the hair. They were made in the summer, in the months
[221] of July and August, when the hide of the buffalo was
thickest, and always, if possible, of the skins of cows, as those of the bull were found less adapted to the purpose. From six to twelve skins were ordinarily employed, according to the size desired or the wealth of the occupants. The number rarely exceeded twelve but occasionally reached eighteen and twenty, and Major Culbertson relates having once seen one of forty skins that would hold a hundred people. A six-skin lodge was about ten feet in diameter, holding six persons, while a twelve-skin lodge was about fifteen feet in diameter and afforded shelter to eight or nine persons. The cover was stretched over from eight to twelve lodge poles, in the larger lodges from eighteen to twenty, standing in a circle and inclining inward till they joined near the tops at the height of from eight to twelve feet from the ground. The exterior shape of the lodge was, therefore, a cone, and it always had but a single entrance,

262 fowl, too, they scorned to molest, though prairie and sage
[136] chickens, geese, ducks and curlews swarmed about them in
untold thousands.

Salt

317 In common with all the Indians of the plains the Blackfeet
263 did not use salt, although salt-bearing springs were
171 to be found in a part of their country. Intercourse with
177 the whites has changed their habits but little in this respect
178 and salt is still lightly esteemed. It is, however, quite
[272] otherwise with sugar, coffee and flour, which they readily
[262] learned to use and now consume in large quantities.

Dress

291 Before the advent of white traders the Blackfeet dressed
[281] altogether in skins, both in summer and winter. The best
[294] clothing was made from the skins of antelope, deer and
bighorn, but buffalo was largely used, in every case the
hair being wholly removed and the skin rendered as soft
and pliable as cloth. The dress of the men consisted of a
shirt, breech-clout and leggings, while the women wore a
single loose garment reaching from the neck to the ankles,
confined at the waist with a belt and provided with loose
flowing sleeves. The shirts of the men hung loosely about
the person, the sleeves reaching to the wrist, the breechclout
●531 being suspended to a belt worn under the shirt. Both
294 sexes wore leather moccasins, fitting the foot quite neatly,
291 no ornament for ordinary wear but sometimes very handsomely
worked with dyed porcupine quills. The clothing
of both men and women was invariably ornamented with
[439] leather fringe and sometimes with porcupine quills. Beads
took the place of the quills when introduced by the traders.
291 For ordinary wear the clothes of both sexes were plain,
[292] but as fine a suit as the means of the owner allowed was
always kept in readiness for state occasions. In addition to the clothing above described, a buffalo robe was almost invariably worn, thrown loosely about the person for ordinary wear but secured by a belt for hunting and travel. When preparing for fight the men threw the robe back from the shoulders to expose the arms and body and very

291 frequently went into action entirely naked. The dress of
the Blackfeet was very decent at all seasons, the body being
entirely covered, the women being as sensitive to any exposure
[855] of the person as their white sisters. Little children,
however, were sometimes allowed to run naked, though the
girls were usually clothed as soon as they began to walk.
[439] When cotton and woolen stuffs were introduced by the
[178] traders the men took to their use quite readily, but the
[177] women were more conservative and it was long before they
learned to substitute cotton or woolen for their former skin
gown.

DYE COLORS

294 The colors used in dyeing the porcupine quills, horsehair
531 and feathers employed as trimming were red, yellow and
[237] black. The red was obtained from the bull berry, the yellow
[386] from the root of a plant, and the black apparently from
[824] pulverized lignite, of which they had an abundance in their
[823] country. These colors were prepared for use as a paint by
[381] mixing with glue obtained from the hoofs of the buffalo.
[532] With this compound they often lavishly ornamented buffalo
[439] robes, saddles, bags, lodges and shields with nude
[177] figures of people and animals. Other colors were introduced
by the traders and readily adopted.

HEAD COVERING

292 Neither men nor women ordinarily wore any covering
294 on the head. For special occasions, however, the men were
237 provided with war bonnets of elaborate workmanship. This
[291] consisted of a cap of buffalo hide, usually supporting a
[714] pair of horns jutting out from the sides in imitation of the
buffalo, ornamented with feathers, porcupine quills, strips
of ermine, horse hair, and frequently a long streamer hanging
down behind reaching often nearly to the feet. The
feathers were arranged in a row around the head, and,
meeting behind, followed the streamer down the back,
[435] standing out like the teeth of a saw. The only feathers
used were those of the American eagle, which were scarce
and valuable; they were not dyed, but were often tipped
with red horse hair streamers. The best war bonnets were very gaudy, often
handsome, and were esteemed in value equal to a horse.

000 ignited. The bowl varied in size from a hen's egg to that
276 of a goose egg, a medium size being the most frequent. Its
shape was similar to that of an egg, slightly elongated.
[322] The stem was usually made of an ash twig by removing the
pith, and was ordinarily about three feet long.

TOBACCO

Prior to the introduction of tobacco by the whites, the
Blackfeet smoked only the dried leaves of a creeping evergreen
vine that bears a small, sweet, red berry and grows
[126] only in the mountains. The author has never seen a specimen
of the plant and his informants are unable to give him
any other name than that by which it was called by the
249 early French voyageurs, l'herbe, corrupted into *larb*. Besides
276 larb, the Blackfeet cultivated a tobacco plant peculiar
[756] to themselves, the medicine men repairing annually to a
certain locality and putting in the seed with religious ceremonies.
This plant was smoked only upon sacred occasions.
[115] Notwithstanding my informant had lived thirty
years among the Blackfeet tribes, he never saw this plant
except in its dried state and is unable to describe it. When
smoked in any quantity the taste was nauseous in the extreme.
276 When tobacco was introduced by the traders the
439 Blackfeet were immediately captivated by it. They would
435 pay the most exorbitant prices for it and gave it the foremost
place among their treasures. They did not smoke it
pure, however, but mixed it with larb in about equal proportions.

276 (Note—The Blackfeet never smoked the bark of the willow
171 called kinnikinick. The Crows also used larb exclusively,
while the Sioux used only the willow. The Assiniboines
preferred larb but used the willow when larb was
not obtainable.)

MEDICINE PIPE

276 The pipe for ordinary use was without ornament, but
● [531] besides there was a pipe for sacred occasions known as the
[237] Medicine or Sacred pipe, which was ornamented with eagle
[778] feathers and porcupine quills, and they were held in great
000 veneration. Their owners were called pipe stem bearers,

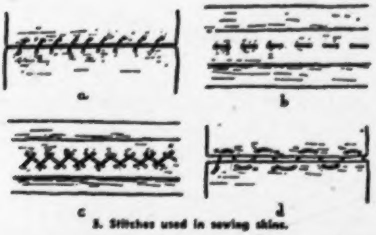
[42]

tury, in the early part of the nineteenth 175
century, the active hostility of the Black- 648
feet prevented American fur traders from trapping and from developing the Indian trade in Montana east of the mountains. Until the middle 1880's the Blackfeet con- [721]
tinued to send out raiding parties in quest of horses to the camps of enemy tribes west of the Rockies, and to those living southward and eastward on the plains. Rarely did these war parties return empty handed. Their constant aggressive action made the Blackfeet feared by all their enemies, White as well as Indian. They were the warriors [181]
par excellence of the Northwestern Plains.

However, it is not only as men of action 175
that the Blackfeet are worthy of our interest. They have also earned a reputation in more peaceful pursuits as skilled artists and craftsmen. Descriptions of the Black- [531] ●
feet by early fur traders and explorers tell us of their love for ornamenting their native costumes and equipment with simple but colorful and attractive designs, of their painstaking care in manufacturing even the most common household objects with the most primitive of tools, and of their ingenuity in utilizing native materials in their decorative arts. Early in the historic period 177
they learned to adapt some of the European- 175
made materials from the traders' stores to use in their arts and crafts. Despite the alien origin of these materials, the Blackfeet employed them in a traditionally Indian manner.

The observations of early writers are con- 121
firmed by the appearances of old objects of Blackfeet make in museum collections. Yet, if we would try to understand the significance of the decorative arts in Blackfeet life, we must not be content to see

[P.9-B]



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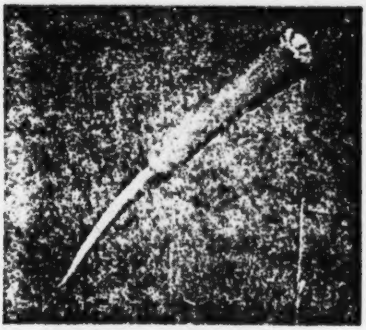
294 →

5. Stitches used in sewing skins.

thread. No needles were used in sewing. Instead, 294
the sinew thread was passed through [283]
holes punched in the skins with a sharp [412]
pointed bone awl. Four stitches used by the Blackfeet in sewing skins are illustrated in figure 5. Stitch A, the over and over stitch, was generally used for all seams and for joining moccasin soles to uppers. Stitch B, the running stitch, was employed for attaching borders and bands to a second, underlying piece of skin. Stitch C was a mending [296]
stitch, and D was used chiefly for ornament.

In the careful piecing together of ten to 281
twenty or more buffalo skins to form a lodge 294
cover, and in the making of men's shirts [342]
and women's dresses from two deer, antelope, or elk skins carefully cut and pieced together, Blackfeet women exhibited their skill as seamstresses. Often they sought to [531]
conceal unsightly, exposed construction



412
237

6. Bone awl used in sewing skins.

[P.13-B]

joints of garments or containers by covering 294
them with bands of decoration in beadwork 281
or quillwork, or adding an ornamental skin [531]
fringe. This way of hiding the seams is demonstrated in the decoration of men's dress
shirts made by the Blackfeet. Invariably,
the long sleeve seams of the shirts are covered with decorated bands of ornamentation.
(See illustration on page 47.)

The preparation of skins, and their manu- 462
facture into useful articles were laborious, 281
time-consuming, even monotonous women's
tasks. But they were very necessary ones for
the Blackfeet. Most White people are inclin- 517
ed to overlook work in skins in favor of the
more colorful and striking decorative arts
of painting, quillwork and beadwork. It is
not so with Indians. They are quick to notice
and approve a finely dressed skin of soft,
even texture and color, or a well made skin
article. They are quick to reject a poorly
dressed skin or a careless piece of sewing.
Of the four major crafts, work in skins was
certainly of basic importance. Women who [555]
were especially skilled in this work had a
right to be proud of their ability.

PAINTING

Next to the dressing and sewing of skins, 531
painting is probably the oldest of the major
Blackfeet arts or crafts. Certainly it dates
back to prehistoric times. Early traders and
explorers found the Blackfeet living in
painted lodges and wearing painted buffalo
robes. The materials used in painting were 386
readily obtained in the Blackfeet country.

Paints

Native paints were both numerous and
ingenious. They were derived from animal,
vegetable and mineral sources. Earth paints
were most common. The Blackfeet employed a half-dozen different reds, providing
colors of several hues and intensities. Red
paints were prepared from crimson colored
earth, and crushed, pale, reddish-yellow
rock. A reddish brown was obtained by baking a gray or yellowish clay over ashes until
it turned red. In the spring of the year the [824]

buds of the pussy willow were picked, kept 386
over night, and made into still another red [824]
paint. Yellow was found in the form of
colored earth especially common beside the
Yellowstone River. Buffalo gall stones pro- 386
vided another yellow. For blue they used a 237
duck manure from the lakes of their country
where wild ducks were plentiful. It was dried
in the sun and then mixed with water. Old 822
full-bloods still are inclined to use the same
color names for both blue and green,
although they readily recognize the differ-
ence between the two colors on sight and
affirm that their people used them both in
their painting in the old days. They say 386
green came from a colored mud or from [824]
plants growing near lakes. Some say Black-
feet also knew how to mix native blue and
yellow to make green. White paint was ob-
tained from white earth. Lewis and Clark
named the present Beaver Creek near
Helena, which they passed in 1805, White
Earth Creek, because they learned that the
Indians were accustomed to dig white
paint beside that stream. Both charcoal and
black earth furnished black paint.

Of all colors, red was most commonly 531 ●
used in painting by the Blackfeet. Red earth
was applied liberally to the surfaces of
sacred objects used in ceremonials. Black-
feet ceremonial bundles usually contain
numerous sacred objects completely covered
with red paint.

The trader, Alexander Henry, listed ten 175
different pigments employed by the Piegan [531]
division of the Blackfeet in "painting and
daubing their garments, bodies and faces" [302]
in the early years of the nineteenth century.
It is possible that some of these were colors
obtained from the traders even at that early
date. Certainly in more recent times com-
mercial paints have replaced native colors
to a very large extent in Blackfeet painting.

Preparation of Paints

The native pigments were ground to a 386
powder in small stone mortars. Each color
was kept separately in a skin bag closed at
the neck by a buckskin drawstring. In use, [415]
[P.14-B] [237]

were used for filling in the larger masses. 413
A separate brush was employed for each color.

Articles Painted

Articles usually decorated with painted 531
designs by the Blackfeet were parfleches (folded, envelope-like, rectangular packing cases, sometimes called "Indian suitcases"), other rectangular folded cases, tubular cases, shields, and drum heads—all of rawhide. Thick rawhide knife sheaths were sometimes painted. Soft skin robes, men's shirts and leggings, lodge linings and lodge covers were often painted. Some objects of wood, such as the tripods supporting the back-rests used inside lodges, arrow shafts, war clubs, and dance paraphernalia also were painted.

Men's Painting and Women's Paintings

As a general rule women were the paint- 531
ers of geometric designs on rawhide cases, 532
robes and lodge linings; men used human [555]
and animal forms and painted the devices [212]
on their shields and drums, the religious symbols on their lodge covers, and covered their robes with picture writing extolling their deeds of bravery in war.

[P. 15-B]

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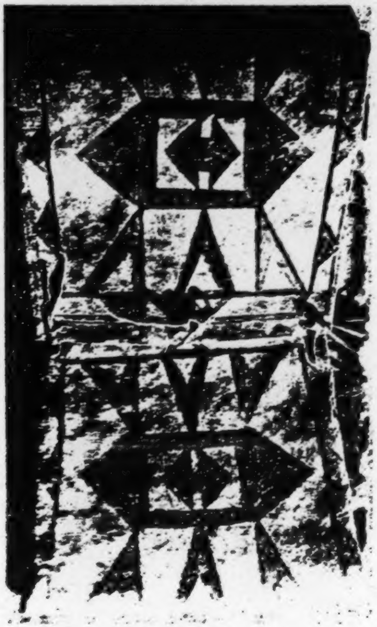

8. Parfleche painted in 1904.

their robes with picture writing extolling 000
their deeds of bravery in war.

Rawhide Painting

One of the most common objects painted 415
by women was the parfleche. These most [531]
useful storage and carrying cases usually
were made in pairs. They were transported [492]
on horseback. One parfleche was suspend- [283]
ed lengthwise of the horse at each side, by rawhide cords passing through burnt holes in the margins of the cases and over the pommel and cantle of the packsaddle. The contents of these heavy rawhide cases remained dry even when travelling in the hardest rain.

To make a pair of parfleches a woman 281
selected a buffalo hide with the hair on, [531]
whose inner side had been fleshed and [532]

[P·16-A]

scraped to an even thickness. She soaked 532
the hide in water and, while it was still [531]
damp, pegged it out on the ground hair side [281]
down. She knelt over the hide on her
knees and began to paint on a portion of it
the design composition she had in mind.
She measured the lengths of the lines out- [824]
lining the desired motives precisely with
peeled willow sticks of different lengths. [413]
Using these sticks as rulers she drew the
outlines of the forms with paint on a bone
brush. Usually a single color was used for
outlining all painted forms on the parfleche.
Then she filled in the larger areas of the
composition with other desired colors. The
paint was mixed only with hot water, which
caused it to sink into the damp hide and
become permanently fixed after it had
dried.

415
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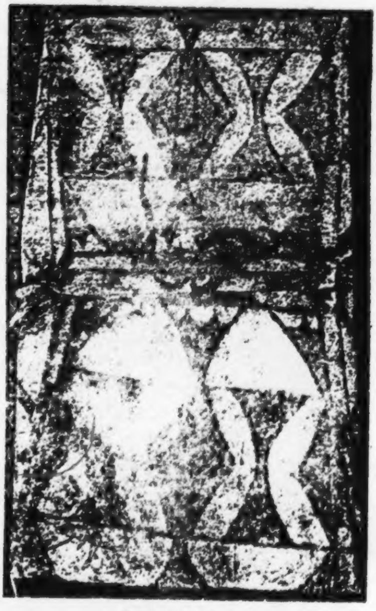

[P.16-B] 9. Painted parfleche.

Another method of parfleche painting, 532
said to have been favored by Mrs. Little [531]
Spotted Calf, a well known Blackfeet artist
of more than 50 years ago, was somewhat
different. She first outlined the forms with [824]
paint mixed with water, using willow sticks
for straight edges. Then she filled in the
outlined areas with paint, or had young
people do it for her. Meanwhile the tail of [237]
a beaver was boiling in water nearby until
it made a sticky glue. She took another [381]
bone brush with no paint on it, dipped it in [413]
the glue, marked along the painted areas
with it, and finally covered all the painted
masses with a thin coat of the glue. The
glue made the paint shine and remain permanent.
One could pour water over it after
the glue dried and the paint would not run.
The clean second scrapings of hides were [381]
sometimes substituted for the beaver tail in [177]
making the glue overcoat. It is said that
after the Blackfeet obtained rice from the
Whites, they made a sticky glue of it that
furnished another substitute for beaver tail
glue.

In either case, after the paint dried, the 281
hide was turned over and the hair removed
with a hide scraper or a rock. Pounding
the outside of the hide with a rock made
the unpainted portions of the rawhide a
whitish color. Then the woman cut out the
parfleches to the desired shape with a knife,
folded them into their proper envelope form,
and burned out the tie holes with a hot iron
rod. The parfleches were finished.

Areas of the hide not needed for parfleches were not wasted. They were used for making smaller painted cases of rectangular shape, or cut up into moccasin soles.

Blackfeet parfleches average 2 feet long 415
by 15 inches wide when folded for use. They
are somewhat shorter than those of most
other Plains tribes. In the old days they
were used primarily for holding pemmican
or dried meat. The painted designs are 531
confined primarily to the two end flaps, sec- 415
ondarily to the longer, narrower, side flaps.
In contrast with some other tribes, such as [171]
the Dakota, Blackfeet parfleches generally

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10. Fringed case for sacred objects.

have proportionately large areas of unpainted hide on the top flaps. A considerable range of angular designs appear on Blackfeet parfleches, selected and combined in accordance with the preference of the maker. Some Blackfeet parfleche designs make use of a few curved lines also. Old parfleches made with willow measuring sticks generally bear designs less straight in outline than those made in more recent years with the aid of a ruler.

The parfleche pictured in figure 8 bears an old Blackfeet design. All forms are outlined in blue. The masses of color are

(P.17-B)

11. Case for a berry masher.

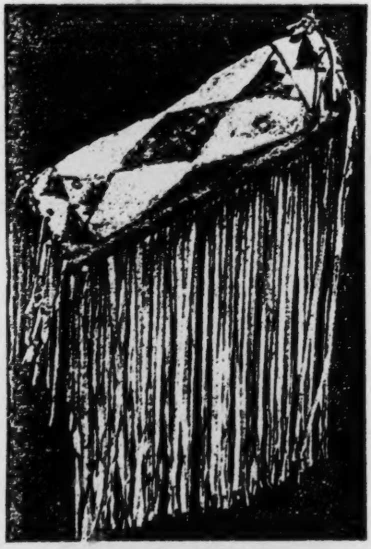
in green, red and yellow. Although this specimen was made since 1900, the pattern was recognized by an elderly woman to be exactly the same as the one she often used in painting parfleches when she was a young woman, prior to 1880.

A number of smaller, rectangular cases were made by the Blackfeet from a single piece of rawhide and painted by the same methods as were parfleches. As a rule these cases were folded twice, stitched up the sides, and closed by triangular flap over the top. The flap was fastened by a rawhide cord passing through holes in the front of the case and tied. Some of these cases were used to hold sacred medicine objects. They frequently had long, pendant rawhide fringes at the sides. Others, without fringes, often contained such common household articles as skin dressing tools or stone headed berry mashers. These cases were painted only on the broad front side with a panel of geometric design. Many of the fringed medicine cases in museum collections or in the homes of the older Indians today have become so worn through use and exposure to all kinds of weather that the painted designs are barely recognizable.

Another rawhide case, painted in a simi-

531
415

lar manner by the Blackfeet, looks like a tapering tube. Its ends are closed by two rawhide disks, tied to the cyclinder by rawhide cords passing through holes burnt in the margins of cylinder and disks. The larger cases of this type generally have long rawhide fringes suspended from the long edge of the tube where it is fastened together. The painted decoration of a tubular case is confined to a long panel covering one side of the case only, and to the end disks. The segment of the cylinder generally hidden from view of the spectator is left unpainted. The designs painted on these cases vary in detail, but most have three main elements—a rhombus between two triangles touching at their apeces. This form is commonly called a medicine case. The Blackfeet used it to hold and protect carefully wrapped, fragile, feather bonnets, or other ceremonial objects.



12. Case for a feather bonnet.

[P.18-B]

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[P.19-A]

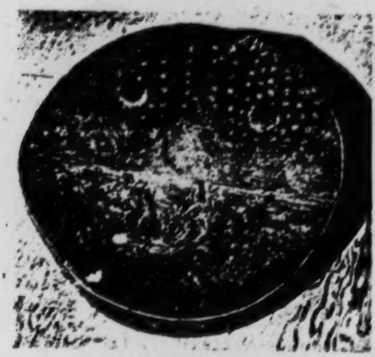
13. Painted buffalo hide shield.

The antiquity of parfleches and other 175
painted rawhide containers is in doubt. 415
Descriptions of the Blackfeet written prior
to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century
do not mention them. Yet Maximilian's
account of these people in 1833, mentions
"many kinds of painted parchment bags"
then in use. It is possible that the Blackfeet 415
did not make them at all before they acquired 182
horses, and that prior to that time containers
were of lighter, soft dressed skins, [171]
in the form of drawstring bags, such as were
widely used by the neighboring Plains Cree
in more recent times.

Since the extermination of the buffalo [281]
the Blackfeet have made rawhide cases
after traditional patterns from cowhide.
Because they are so useful for storing small
articles, some parfleches are still in use
among the older Blackfeet.

Men's painting on rawhide was confined 714
primarily to the decoration of shields and [531]
drum heads. Shields were made from the
thick hide of the buffalo bull's neck, [534]
shrunken over a fire in the ground, and
trimmed into a circular form about 18
inches in diameter. The paintings on shields 532
represent the buffalo, the sun, the moon or 821
714

[P. 19-B]



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825

14. Painted ceremonial drum.

stars. They were symbolic medicine paint- 532
ings intended to protect the shield owner in 714
war. An old Blackfeet shield bearing a sin- [821]
gle crude painting of a buffalo in red is
shown in figure 13. As was customary, a [237]
fringe of eagle feathers surrounds the raw-
hide body of the shield. Symbolic paintings 532
were also made on the heads of drums used
in ceremonials, such as the drum from a 534
medicine pipe bundle bearing the claws of [825]
the thunder bird and dots symbolizing hail [821]
shown in figure 14. Horse and deer hides [237]
were preferred for drum heads.

Painting on Soft Skins

Women also painted geometric patterns 532
on the soft tanned inner surfaces of buffalo 294
robes. Generally the robes were spread out on the ground, hair side down. Some women used one or the other of the two methods of applying the paint to robes explained in our description of parfleche painting, while others employed a third method. The outlines of the painted forms were pressed firmly into the soft surface of the hide with a flattened stick marking tool, drawn along the edge of a willow stick ruler. Then the bone paint brushes were used to paint in the designs with a mixture of paint, water, and glue from the second scrapings of a hide.

At one time Blackfeet women may have 531
painted other geometric patterns on buffalo 294

[P.20-A]

robes, but the only one elderly blackfeet can 531
remember, and the only one common in 294
museum collections, is the pattern the Indians
term "marked robe" or "real painted
robe." It is a very simple pattern consisting
of five or more equally spaced, narrow,
parallel lines of decoration running lengthwise
of the robe. These lines were usually
broken at intervals into rectangular blocks
of different colors. Either men or women
wore these robes. The pattern was first mentioned [175]
by Maximilian in 1833. Elkskin robes [178]
bearing this pattern are still worn by Blackfeet
medicine women in the annual Sun
Dance ceremony. Older Indians say the pattern
had no symbolic meaning; it was just a
design that appealed to the Blackfeet.

The large, buffalo skin draft screens that 531
lined the lower portions of Blackfeet lodges [353]
were painted with bright geometric designs
by women. The painting was confined to a
long, narrow horizontal band near the top of
the lining, and additional vertical bands
projecting downward from it at intervals of
about 15 inches. Simple as this pattern was
it was distinctly Blackfeet.

Some men, who had fine war records, pre- 532
ferred to paint pictographic representations 555
of their deeds of valor on their lodge linings. 353

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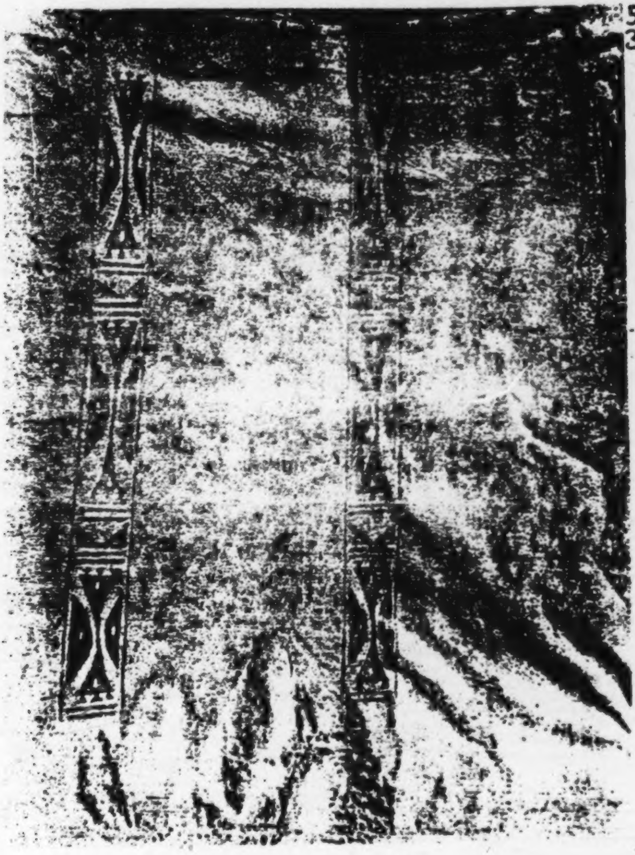
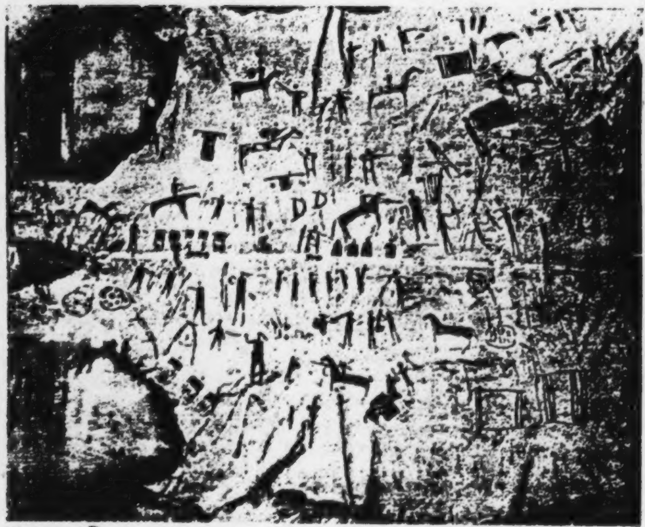
15. "Marked robe" of cowhide.

[P.20-B]



16. Section of a painted lodge lining.

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



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[P·22-A]

17. A warrior's robe, painted about 1865-1870

Even though a renowned warrior owned a 532
"marked robe," he preferred to wear a robe 212
on which was pictured his successful en- 291
counters with the enemy and symbolic of his [555]
leadership in war. War history robes were
always painted by men. Either the wearer
decorated his own robe or he secured the
services of a more skillful painter to do it for
him. In painting war history robes, only hot [532]
water was mixed with the paint and the fig-
ures were made freehand with a bone brush.
The figures on Blackfeet robes are generally
more notable for their informative than for
their aesthetic quality. Compared with the [171]
semi-realistic, decorative figures painted by
Cheyenne and Teton Dakota artists during
the latter part of the nineteenth century,
most Blackfeet figures are but crude sug-
gestions of living forms, human or animal.
Some Blackfeet men painted the figures in
outline, others in solid monochrome. The
paintings comprise a series of representa-
tions of events, scattered over the surface
of the robe without any effort to devise an
orderly composition. Blackfeet work is more
properly termed picture writing than art.
However, this simple pictorial shorthand 531
served adequately to tell other Indians, 555
212

18. Some common symbols used in painting war records. 1. Enemy camp (tripods represent lodges). 2. Enemy war party intrenched in a hole. 3. Three methods of representing the taking of a picketed horse from an enemy camp. 4. Horse taken in an open fight. 5. Trade blanket taken from an enemy. 6. Gun taken from an enemy. 7. Bow taken from an enemy. 8. Quiver taken from an enemy. 9. Shield taken from an enemy. 10. Two ways of showing an enemy killed. 11. Enemy's scalp taken. 12. Our hero served as leader of a war party. 13. Hero served as war party scout.

[P.22-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24-B]

familiar with the language of the painted 532
figures, exactly what the brave man's claims 555
to distinction were. It indicated, with great 212
economy of line, the number of horses he had stolen from enemy camps on each war party, the number of enemy weapons or other valuable personal equipment he had taken, the number of the enemy he had killed or wounded, the number of times he had served in the responsible position of leader of a war party or as a scout. Some of the common symbols of this pictorial shorthand are shown in figure 18.

Another valuable symbol was the pictographic 532
signature which served to identify 212
the individual Indian by name. The lone Indian when separated from his war party or his camp could draw his signature, coupled with other pictographs indicating his recent actions, and a small arrow indicating his direction of movement, on a rock, a piece of bone, skin or cloth and leave it in a conspicuous place where others of his tribe might find it and learn of his past accomplishments and future plans. A few pictographic signatures of well known elderly Indians of the Blackfeet Reservation, Montana, are shown in figure 19.

The most remarkable and awe-inspiring 532
of Blackfeet paintings are the larger than 531
life size murals of animals painted on the conical outer walls of their lodge covers.

[P.24-B)

The painted lodges of the Blackfeet were 532
first mentioned by Alexander Henry, the fur 531
trader, in 1809, who stated that both beasts
and birds were represented in the paintings [175]
and that buffalo and bear were frequently
delineated. Painted, canvas-covered lodges [178]
may still be seen in the circle camp at sun
dance time. Photographs of Blackfeet lodges
taken a half century ago suggest that
little or no change in these figures has taken
place in the last fifty years. It is possible
that some of the animal figures may be represented
today just as they were in Henry's
time or even earlier.

The paintings on Blackfeet lodges are no
mere decorations. To the Indian who is
versed in the traditions of his people, each
painting is as replete with religious symbolism
as is a madonna in a stained glass
church window to the pious Christian. For
each painted lodge there is a fascinating
legend of origin relating how its first human
owner obtained it. Many painted lodges, 787
according to these legends, were given to
their first Blackfeet owners in dreams or 531
visions. Such a dream was a stirring religious 776
experience. In it the original animal
owner of the lodge appeared to the sleeper
and promised to give him his own painted
lodge and other sacred objects which were
the sources of his supernatural power. The
animal instructed the man how to paint the

[P.24-C]

lodge and to make up the other sacred objects 531
associated with it. When he awoke the [787]
man proceeded to follow these instructions.
Thus each painted lodge is not an entity in [776]
itself but part of a complex of religious objects
belonging to its owner. The owner has [784]
certain rituals to perform and taboos to
recognize so long as he is in possession of
these sacred objects. When he sells his [432]
painted lodge to another an elaborate
transfer ritual must be performed. Painted
lodges have been and still are frequently
transferred from one owner to another within
or among the three Blackfeet tribes Only [422]
the rightful owner is permitted to make use
of the animal figures that belong to his [424]
lodge. No other man would dare copy them.

When a painted lodge cover became old
and worn the paintings on it were transferred
to a new one. This was generally in

[P.25-A]

the fall of the year, just after new lodge 531
covers were made. A man first called upon
the owner of a lodge and told him of his
desire to transfer the decoration to a new
cover. The owner in turn called upon some-
one in the camp who was known to be a
skilled artist and asked him to help. When 532
all was in readiness, the new lodge cover
erected and stretched into shape around the
lodge poles, the painting began. The former [824]
owner instructed the artist exactly how to
mark out the animal figures on the lodge
cover, and the artist proceeded to draw the
outline of the forms in black earth paint,
using red willowsticks for rulers and a bone
paint brush. This outlining was done while
the lodge was standing, and the old, worn,
painted lodge, which was to be discarded
stood nearby where the size and arrange-
ment of its paintings could be referred to if

[P. 25-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26-A]

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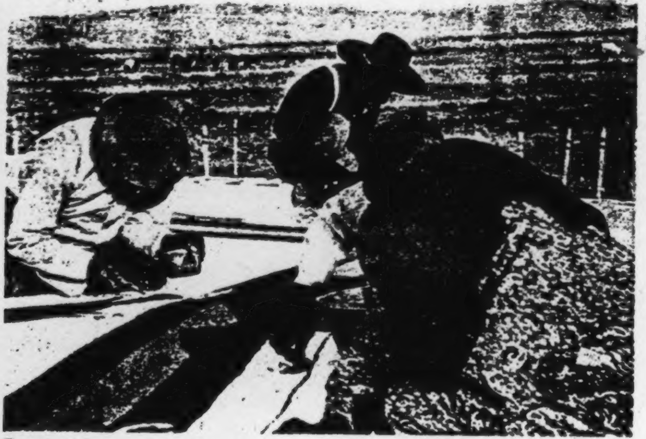

[P. 25-C]

20. Painting the cover of the eagle lodge, about 1910.

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21. Eagle painted lodge in 1943.

need be. The outlining of the forms was the 532
only part of lodge painting that required
the services of the most able artist obtainable.

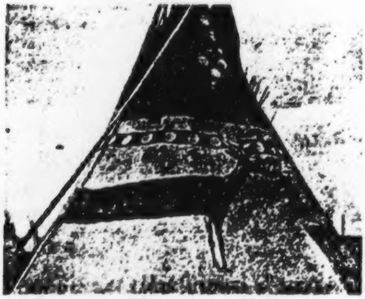
The new lodge cover was then taken down
and spread out flat on the ground. The [574]
owner invited a group of people of good
reputation for honesty and industry to his
lodge and gave them a smoke. They proceeded [476]
to help him finish the painting. They [237]
used a buffalo tail or a handful of long buffalo
hair to apply the paint to the larger
masses. The paint was mixed with hot water
only, and rubbed onto the cover with considerable
pressure. When the painting was
finished and the new lodge erected, all the
ornaments that hung on the old lodge were
transferred to the new one by its owner.
Then he invited the owners of other painted [574]
lodges in the camp to join him inside his
new lodge. There they prayed for the lodge, [782]
and finally helped the owner to make a [343]
purification sweatlodge outside. The cere-

[P.26-A]

mony of transferring the sacred symbols 532
from the old to the new lodge cover was then
ended.

The old, worn, painted cover was disposed [782]
of either by taking it to a lake, spreading it
out, and weighting it with stones so that it
would sink; or by spreading it out on the
plains and weighting it with stones. In the [776]
first instance the old cover was given as an
offering to the water spirits; in the second,
it was an offering to the sun.

The great animal figures were generally 531
painted on the central portion of the lodge 532
cover, about midway of the height of the
lodge. In cases of the larger mammals such
as the deer, elk, and buffalo and in that of
the snake lodge, a single pair of animals are
painted on the cover. They represent the
mythical originator and his wife. In most [823]
instances they face the lodge doorway
(east), the female on the north side of the
lodge and the male on the south. However,
on the buffalo lodges the two huge figures
appear on the east and west sides. The male
buffalo is on the east facing south; the
female on the west side facing north. Some
of the figures have narrow elongated
bodies enabling them to extend nearly halfway
around the circumference of the lodge.
Each of the two figures on the deer painted
lodge, for example, is more than fifteen
feet long and less than five feet high.
Where smaller mammals are represented,



22. Deer painted lodge in 1943.

[P.26-B]

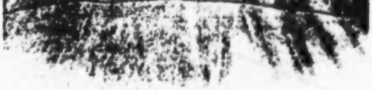
from two to four pairs of them are depicted. 531 The figures face east. 532

These animal figures generally are very stylized and decorative. Usually the body is of one solid color, either black, red or yellow. A characteristic elaborative device on [776] most of them is the representation of the [825] throat, heart and kidneys, which were believed to have been the sources of power of the animals depicted.

Many lodges decorated with animal paintings, and a number of others not so decorated, employ a similar composition of the upper and lower portions of the cover into two fields for geometric painting. At the bottom, a banded area two or more feet in height usually is painted red to represent the earth. Within this red area are one or two rows of unpainted disks representing fallen stars. A row of triangular or rounded projections upward from this band appears on a number of lodge covers, representing rounded hills or sharp mountain peaks. A banded area at the top of the cover, including the projecting ears, generally is painted black to represent the night sky. Two 821 arrangements of unpainted disks within 531 this area, one on each ear flap, represent the constellations of the Great Bear and the 532 Pleiades. A Maltese cross on the west side of this top area is said to represent the morning star, or butterfly, believed to bring powerful dreams to the lodge owner.

In the old days only a small proportion 531
121

531
532



23. Figures on the south side of an otter painted lodge, 1943

[P.27-A]

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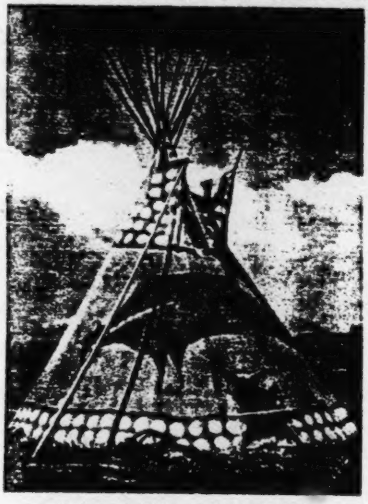


24. Yellow buffalo painted lodge in 1942.

of the total number of lodges in a camp 531
were painted, and some of the painted ones 121
employed symbols of power other than animal figures. However, from the point of view of aesthetic interest, the lodges painted with animal figures are outstanding. Their great size, and their simple, primitive, decorative quality command attention and admiration. It is in the painted animal figures on lodge covers that we find the finest expression of Blackfeet religious art. Certainly they represent the highest achievement of traditional Blackfeet painting.

QUILLWORK

The Blackfeet Indians have a beautiful 237
legend explaining how the first porcupines [773]
were given to one of their ancestors by the [776]
powerful Thunder spirit. The same legend [825]
states that Thunder taught this person how
to do quillwork. This is said to have happened a very long time ago. Certainly porcupine 531
quillwork is one of the Blackfeet decorative arts that originated before these Indians

[P.27-B]

136

23. The porcupine.

met White men. In historic times quillwork 531
always has been women's work. [462]

Porcupine Quills

The western porcupine has been a native 136
of the Blackfeet country throughout the
historic period. Porcupines are still abundant
on and near the modern reservations
of the Blackfeet in Montana and Alberta.
The tail and most of the body of the porcupine
are covered with hollow, cylindrical
quills. Porcupine quills are of a whitish color 237
with black tips. They vary in diameter and
length. The largest quills, from the tail of
the animal, are about five inches long and
one-eighth inch in diameter. The finest, from
the belly, are scarcely an inch in length and
very thin. Intermediate sizes appear on the
animal's back and neck. The Blackfeet 531
rarely used the smaller quills in embroidery. 237
The average porcupine yields about 8 ounces
of quills. They are very light in weight,
averaging about 4,000 to the ounce.

Dyeing Porcupine Quills

In Blackfeet quillwork some of the quills 237
were used in their natural color, others were 386
dyed to enable the craftswoman to work
out attractive polychrome designs. Native 824
dyestuffs were of vegetable origin. Before 237
dyeing, the basal tip of each quill was broken 386
off. Elderly Indians recalled that the
quills were dyed by dampening a quantity
of the dye plant in water, placing a number
of quills on top of it, and wrapping them
together in a piece of buckskin. The package
was placed under the woman's bed on
the ground inside the lodge, where it was
pressed by the weight of her body for a

[P-28-A]

boiling them in water with a quantity of 237
colored trade cloth. This method was com- 386
mon in Maximilian's time. Nevertheless, [177]
despite the widespread use of commercial [178]
dyes, some Blackfeet women continued to
employ native dyes within the memory of
elderly Indians still living. Generally the
plant dyes imparted a more delicate color-
ing to the quills than did the strong com-
mercial dyes.

The Quillworker's Tools and Methods

Elderly Blackfeet say that quillwork was 237
regarded as a sacred craft by their people. [462]
Girls or young women were taught the craft [868]
by the older women. First the younger
women were initiated ceremonially into the
art of handling the sharp-pointed quills. It [153]
was claimed that women who attempted to
do quillwork without having first experienc-
ed this ceremony would surely "go blind" or
suffer from a swelling of the finger joints.
Then they were taught how to use the tools
of the quillworker's craft and how to employ
the various methods of quill sewing, plaiting
and wrapping known to their elders. Quills [415]
of the same size in assorted colors were kept
in long, cigar shaped, bladder containers
until ready for use. The quillworker's kit [412]
also included one or more bone or metal [283]
awls for making holes in the skin, a quantity [413]
of sinew thread for passing through these
holes in attaching the quills to the surface
of the skin, and a bone or horn instrument
for pressing and flattening the quills after
they had been sewn to a flat surface. The
Blackfeet quillworker held quills in her
mouth to soften them, then flattened them
between her teeth and put them in place at
once. It was customary for a beginner to [182]
give her first piece of quillwork as an offer-
ing to the sun.

Articles Decorated with Quills

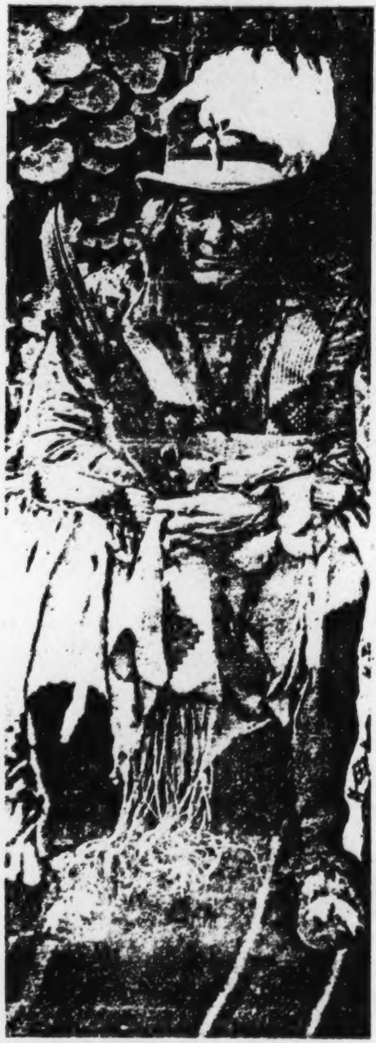
Today quillwork is almost a lost art 237
among the Blackfeet. However, accounts 531
written more than a century ago refer to 294
quillwork as a flourishing decorative art in
which Blackfeet women were very pro-

27. Buffalo horn quill flattener.

ficient. In the 1870's Blackfeet women still 237
applied quilled decorations to men's shirts 531
and leggings, moccasins and robes. They 294
also decorated broad bands, divided at intervals by disks, which were sewn lengthwise over the centers of buffalo robes or trade blankets. A section of one of these bands, decorated with red, orange, purple, yellow and natural colored quills, is shown in figure 29. Quillwork was also employed in the decoration of Blackfeet feather bonnets. Long, narrow, thin strips of rawhide were wrapped with quills. The strips were then sewn to the ribs of the feathers. Most of the articles decorated with quillwork by the Blackfeet at that time were items of men's costume. Women's dresses and moccasins [294]
were rarely quill decorated in the '70's, although in earlier years the use of quills on those articles was common. It is possible that other types of articles were decorated with quillwork by Blackfeet women a century ago.

By 1880, beadwork had become so pop- 237
[P. 29-B] 531
178

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30-B]



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28. Crowfoot, North Blackfeet chief, wearing a quilled shirt, 1886.

[P.30-A]

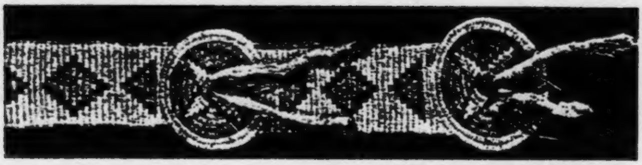
ular among the Blackfeet as to cause most 237
of the women to abandon the older work in 178
quills. The younger women showed little or
no interest in learning quillwork, and only a 531
few of the older women continued to practice it. Of late years, due to the difficulty of obtaining imported beads in wartime, there has been a slight revival of interest in quillwork on the Canadian Blackfeet reserves which may prevent the complete abandonment of this fine, old craft by the Blackfeet.

Quillworking Techniques

A study of the techniques employed by 237
Blackfeet quillworkers is handicapped by 531
the relatively small number of genuine examples of old Blackfeet quillwork in museum or private collections. Although a considerable number of quill decorated articles have been collected from the Blackfeet tribes, many of them are known to have
been of alien manufacture. Since the 431
1880's, the Blackfeet have received a great 531
many quilled men's suits, tobacco pouches and other quill-decorated articles as gifts
from Assiniboine and Dakota. Even before 439
that time the Blackfeet probably obtained 531
quilled articles through trade or capture from the tribes to the east and southeast.
The existence of large numbers of these 127
foreign articles in Blackfeet collections 531
makes difficult the problem of defining the character of Blackfeet quillwork on the basis of old specimens.

However, in 1910, William C. Orchard 237
made a detailed study of a limited number 531
of pieces of quillwork collected among the Blackfeet in the preceding decade by Dr. Clark Wissler. These specimens were believed to have been made by Blackfeet. The quillworkers who made these pieces employed eight different techniques of applying the quills. Six of these methods were believed to have been traditional Blackfeet techniques, while the other two were considered to have been adopted from neighboring tribes in recent years. Figure 30 illustrates the six traditional techniques.

[P.30-B]



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29. Section of a quilled blanket band.

[P.31-A]

Four old methods of sewing single quills to a flat surface were distinguished. In the first (A. figure 30) two parallel lines of sinew thread are passed through the leather at intervals and the quill is folded under the thread between each stitch in the skin. The finished work presents the appearance of a narrow band on which the quills run at right angles to the length of the band. The second method (B. figure 30) is like the first, except that the width of the band is gradually varied to produce patterns in quillwork.- The third technique (C. page 30) employs a loopstitch to place the quills diagonally on the band. The fourth(D. figure 30) produces a V-shaped surface pattern by crossing the quill over itself obliquely. The sewing is done by the simple spot stitch (as in A and B) but the stitches in the two lines of sewing are not directly opposite one another as they are in A and B. A method of plaiting was also employed (E. figure 30) in which two quill elements cross each other obliquely, under one and over one, forming a diamond shaped pattern. This technique was used for narrow bands, or in widths limited only by the size of the area to be decorated. Where the width is more than the length of a quill, a system of lapping is used, by which the lappings are carefully concealed under the crossing elements. In the other techniques of quill sewing, care was always taken to overlap two adjoining quills so that the laps were entirely concealed. A sixth technique (figure 30 F) was employed for wrapping quills about fringes or narrow rawhide strips, by a system of overlapping the ends of the quills. The overlappings were always made on the same side of the strip.

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[283]

(P-31-B)

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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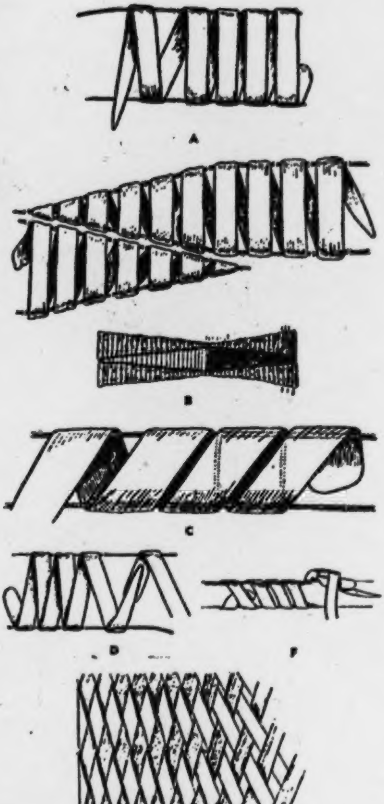


39. Techniques employed at Blackfoot Quill work.

[P·31-C]

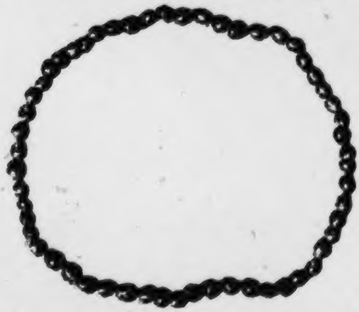
237 53 [171] Compared with the quillwork of neighboring tribes to the east, Blackfeet quillwork techniques were both few in number and simple in performance. They seem to have lacked the weaving technique of the Cree and the multiple quill sewing and plaiting of the Dakota. The preference of the Blackfeet for narrow bands of quillwork limited the possibilities for variety in design motifs. Small, angular designs predominate in Blackfeet quillwork.

BEADWORK

301 [177] [439] Blackfeet bead embroidery originated within the historic period and had a dual origin. The little glass or china beads themselves, made by Venetian craftsmen in far-off Italy, were introduced by White fur traders. For ways to use these beads the native women turned to their traditional Indian craft of quillwork for inspiration. In the selection of articles and areas for decoration and in the choice of designs, Blackfeet beadworkers followed the traditions of the older craft. Like quillwork also, beadwork has been a woman's craft. [462]

History of Blackfeet Beadwork

The history of Blackfeet use of beads may be divided into three periods. The first period may be termed the Pre-embroidery or Bead Necklace Period, during which large beads were used to make necklaces,



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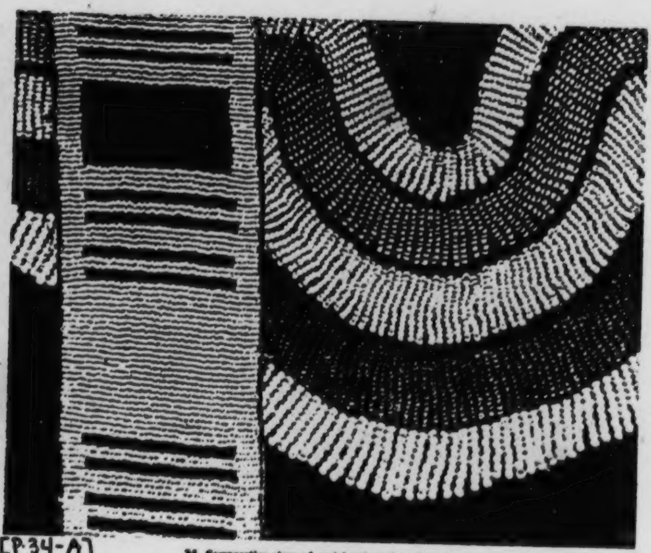
31. Necklace of wild roseberries.

[P-32-A]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



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[P-34-A]

34. Comparative sizes of pony beads and seed beads.

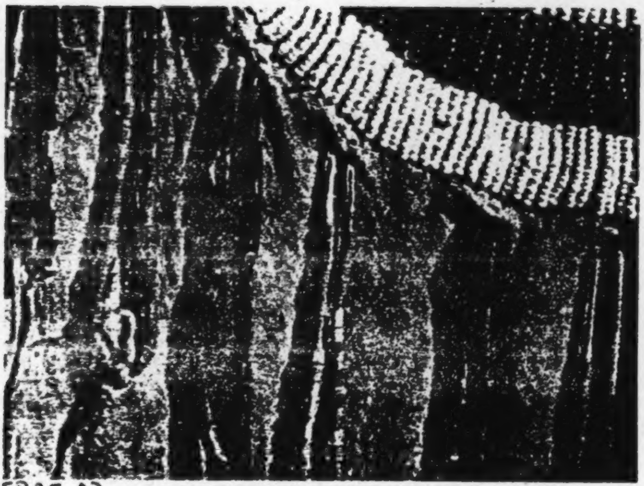
shirts, leggings, and moccasins. The older 294
technique of quillwork was never replaced 178
by beadwork throughout the "real bead"
period, save possibly for the decoration of
women's dresses. Rather the two crafts
existed side by side. Some costumes were [531] ●
decorated with beads, some with quills. The
areas of decoration and the designs were
much the same in both techniques.

The real bead period came to a close with
the adoption of smaller sized seed beads by
the Blackfeet about 1875. A few Blackfeet [177]
women married to White men may have
begun to use the smaller beads by 1870.
Seed beads seem to have been employed by
the younger women in the 1870's, while
some of the older, more conservative women
continued to use the older "real beads" in
the 1880's. Women's dresses continued to
be decorated with "real beads" until near
the end of the century. Thus the change
from "real beads" to seed beads was gradual.
We may date the Seed Bead Period
from the year 1875, by which time seed
beads were in fairly common use among
Blackfeet beadworkers.

Seed beads are made of glass or china. 439
They were supplied by traders in a number
of sizes, all of them quite small. The largest
are about one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter,
about half the size of "real beads."
The older seed beads were generally irregular
in size and outline, and opaque.
More recent ones are even, and some of
them translucent. Beadworkers had a choice
of a wide range of colors and hues in seed
beads. For a brief period of a little more [175]
than a decade, following the opening of [178]

[P.34-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35B]



[P.35-A]

35. Comparative sizes of real beads and basket beads.

trader's stores in the new town of Browning 439
in 1896, a larger, transparent bead, three- 178
sixteenths of an inch in diameter and either [175]
three-sixteenths or one-half of an inch in
length, known as a basket bead, was very
popular with the Montana Blackfeet. It [294]
was commonly used in the decoration of women's dresses made during that period. However, its popularity waned almost as quickly as it had grown. The little seed bead is still favored by modern Blackfeet women in their bead embroidery.

The last quarter of the nineteenth cen- 531
tury witnessed a florescence of Blackfeet [178]
beadwork and a decadence of quillwork.
Most of the articles of soft skin or cloth [237]
used by these Indians were decorated with [294]
beadwork. Beadwork was applied liberally to dress clothing (men's shirts, leggings and breech cloths, women's dresses and leggings; moccasins, blanket bands, and feather bonnet headbands); to many kinds of containers (awl cases, gun cases, quivers, and tobacco, paint, toilet and shot pouches); to horse equipment (women's saddles and pad saddles, saddle bags, martingales and cruppers); to cradles, to the cloth edges of willow back rests, and to a variety of religious paraphernalia. Many specimens of traditional Blackfeet beadwork made during this period are preserved in museum collections.

Beadwork Techniques

The common Blackfeet technique of bead embroidery is very similar to the older technique of quillwork. In decorating an article of skin or cloth with seed beads two threads are used, one for stringing the beads, the other for sewing them down. In the geometric designs the beads are arranged in parallel rows, massed tightly together. One

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 36-B]

41: Ewers	E,G-4,5	(1941-1944) 1945	NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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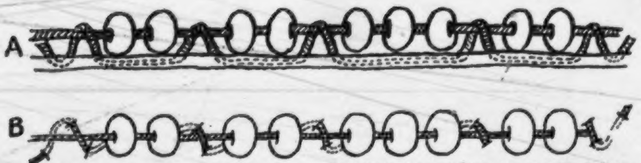
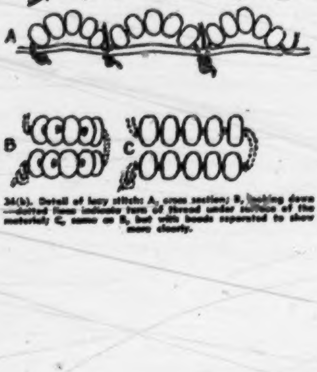


34(a). Detail of overlaid stitch: A, cross section. B, looking down. The dotted lines show where the sewing thread turns under the surface of the material.

[P-36-A]



34(b). Detail of lazy stitch: A, cross section; B, looking down—dotted lines indicate turn of thread under surface of the material; C, same as B, but with beads separated to show more clearly.

end of the first thread is attached to the 531
skin or cloth, and beads of sufficient num-
ber to give the length of line desired are
strung on the thread and laid in place on
the material. The beads are sewn down
flat to the surface by stitches taken with
the second thread over the first thread and
into the material between every two or three
beads. When the work is completed it pre-
sents a flat surface on which the beads are
so close together as to conceal both threads.
This technique is commonly called overlaid
or spot stitch beading. Older Indians say
this same technique usually was employed
in attaching "real beads." An exception 294
is found in the beading of women's dress 531
yokes. The beads on these yokes usually
are attached only at the ends of the rows, 171
producing a loose, ridged effect. This is
the so-called "lazy stitch." It is typical
of Dakota beadwork, but uncommon in that
of the Blackfeet. Some Blackfeet bead- 531
workers have used commercial thread in- [283]
stead of sinew. However, sinew is not only
the traditional sewing material, it is also
stronger and more durable Metal needles [439]
supplied by traders have been used by bead-
workers for more than a century.

[P. 36-B]

EMBROIDERY DESIGNS

For generations tradition has had a powerful 531
influence on the Blackfeet beadworker's 178
choice of designs. Most beadworkers have
preferred to use a limited number of simple
motives which were employed by their
mothers, their grandmothers, and even their
earlier ancestors in their work, rather than
to experiment with novel forms and arrangements.
Through the years the continuity of 531
Blackfeet beadwork and quillwork design 237
remained unbroken until the introduction 175
of leaf and flower patterns about the year
1870. Since that time two basic varieties [178]
of design have been in use among the
Blackfeet. The older of these employs abstract
geometric elements solely, following
the tribal tradition of the pre-floral period.
The second employs decorative flower and [177]
leaf patterns introduced from an alien
source or sources within the lifetime of older
Indians still living on the Blackfeet Reservation,
in Montana.

Geometric Designs

The problem of design in Blackfeet quillwork and geometric beadwork was solved by the composition of small squares, rectangles, and occasionally triangles into patterns. Where the decorative field is large these patterns usually cover but a small portion of it, leaving large areas of monochrome background or sizable masses of solid color. This is characteristic of both Blackfeet quillwork and beadwork. Relatively simple units of design common in Blackfeet beadwork are shown on page 37. 531

[P. 36-C]

DESIGN UNITS COMMON IN BLACKFEET QUILL AND BEADWORK 531

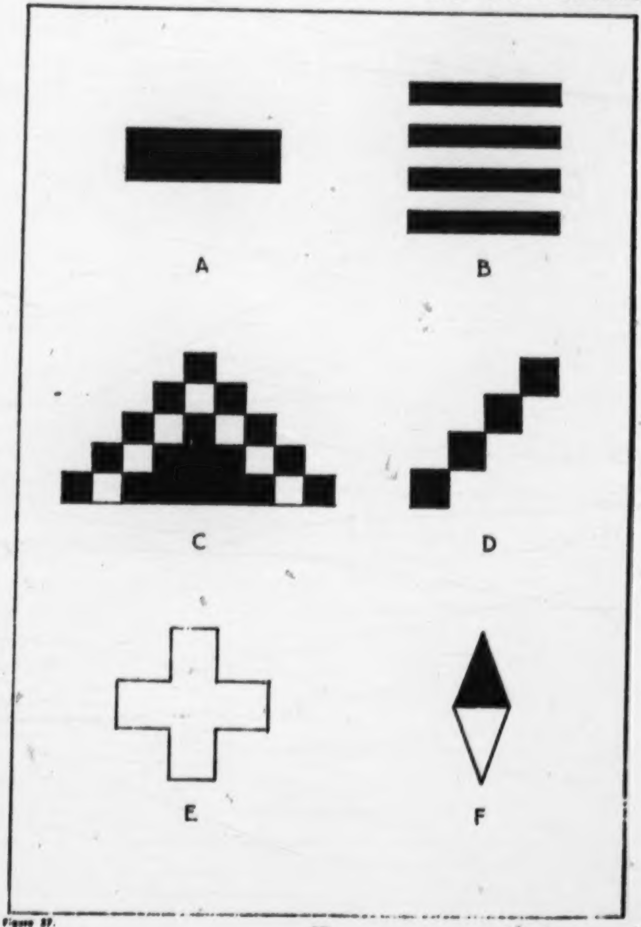
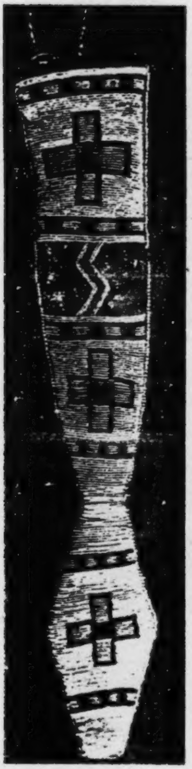


Figure 37.



38. Geometric designs on a beaded dagger sheath.

The stripe appears as a single unit, A. Or in series of parallel units one over the other, B. The stripes are beaded either in solid monochrome or internally elaborated by transverse bars of another color. The triangular step or checker, known to the Indians as the "mountain design" is very common, unit C. It is used as a single unit, or two such units are arranged apex to apex to form an hourglass-like figure, or one directly on top of the other, or base to base to form a diamond-shape figure. Another common unit is the diagonal checker-row formed of small squares, D. A blocky cross E, is common in older Blackfeet work. The double triangle sometimes called "feather design" appears somewhat less commonly in Blackfeet design, F. It appears most frequently [294] on long banded areas, such as are used to decorate men's shirts and leggings. The predominance of thick, square or rectangular elements, and the lack of narrow lines of one or two rows of beads in most Blackfeet beadwork suggests its derivation from the older quillwork. The common use of parallel rows of quills applied in narrow bands favored the employment of small, right angled designs in Blackfeet quillwork.

[P-38-A]

Floral Designs

531 177 [291] [175] Maximilian noted that a Piegan chief, Middle Bull, wore a shirt of bighorn leather "embroidered on the sleeves with blue flowers," in the summer of 1833. This is the only reference to the occurrence of floral designs among the Blackfeet in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is possible that the shirt was made by a person of some other tribe. Elderly Indians have said that floral designs were not employed in old Blackfeet quillwork, and were uncommon in beadwork in their youth. These designs seem to have been directly or indirectly inspired by the flower designs appearing in the embroidery of White people. Some older Indians claim that Blackfeet women, married to White men at Fort Benton, obtained the patterns from pieces of embroidery in the possession of their husbands. [171] Others have said that the Blackfeet copied the floral designs in the beadwork of the Cree, Ojibwa, or Flathead, who in turn may have been influenced by the White men's designs at an earlier date. The Plains Cree themselves attribute the origin of their floral designs to halfbreeds from the east.

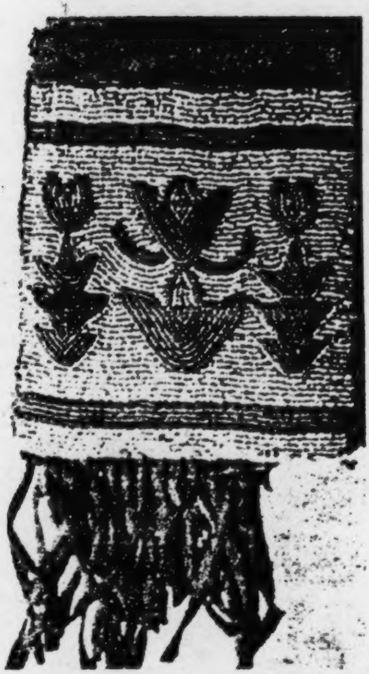
531 294 175 Elderly Indians have recalled that a few Blackfeet women made leaf, but not flower, designs in "real beads" before 1870. Women collected leaves, pressed them, and used them for patterns of leaf forms cut out of colored flannel. The flannel was sewn to the surface of the article to be decorated and the outlines of the flannel leaves were edged with "real beads." After seed beads came into common use in the mid-'70's, the entire surfaces of more complex floral designs in leaves, stems and flowers were covered with several colors of beadwork. The extensive employment of complex floral patterns in Blackfeet beadwork coincided with the increase in the use of seed beads. [127] Photographs of Piegan Indians in the 1880's indicate that moccasins beaded in flowered patterns were then about as common as ones decorated with geometric designs. 531 294 [282] The flowered designs were also popular in the

[P.38-B]

decoration of other articles of clothing and 531
riding gear. Some beadworkers made com- 294
positions combining flowered designs with
some of their earlier geometric ones. Floral [282]
designs commonly were combined with a
thin lined design known as the "double-
curve motive" also. The double-curve is
believed to be at least as old among the
Blackfeet as are the floral designs. Like [177]
them, too, it is credited to alien influence.
One interesting native theory, traces the origin
of the double-curve among the Blackfeet
to designs of this form that appeared
on cast iron stoves, a few of which were
owned by White men residing in the Blackfeet
country. Floral patterns have remain- [178]
ed in favor among many of the older Indians
to the present day for the decoration of articles
for their own use, such as moccasins
that are worn daily, and on articles of dress
costume such as breech cloths, gauntlets,
and some men's shirts and leggings. Flor- 531
al designs are common on soft skin pouches,
pad saddles, saddle bags, and martingales
from the Blackfeet in museum collections.

The Decoration of Moccasins

The pattern of Blackfeet moccasin con- 531
struction underwent a change in the nine- 294
teenth century. Older Indians refer to the
earlier one-piece, soft-soled moccasin as [178]
"real moccasin." It survived to the end of
buffalo days as the typical, hair lined, winter
moccasin. The typical Blackfeet moccasin
of today is said to have come into use
among them in the early or middle nineteenth
century. It is of two pieces — a hard
rowhide sole, and a soft skin upper. The
upper is decorated before it is sewn with



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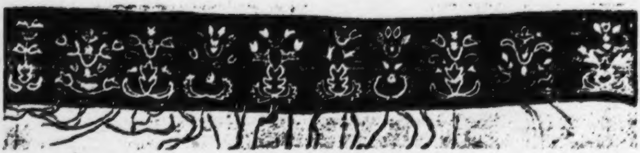
39. Simple floral design on a tobacco pouch.

sinew to the rawhide sole. Six types of 531
moccasin decoration, identified by older 294
Piegan and Blood Indians as ones that have
been much used by the Blackfeet, appear
on page 40. Blackfeet moccasins are
characterized by relatively small areas of
decoration, confined largely or entirely to

[P. 39-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41-A]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



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[P.39-C]

40. Complex floral design on a martingale.

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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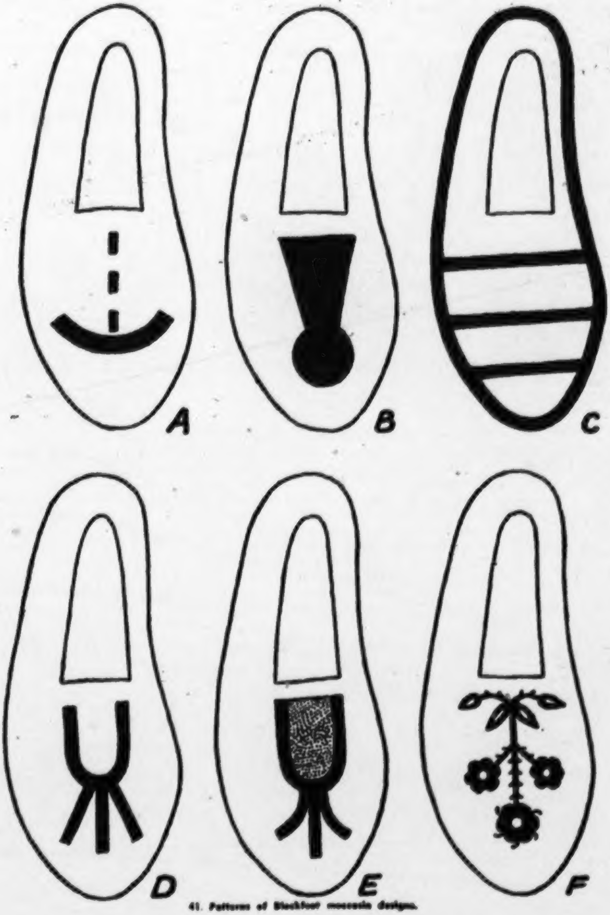

41. Patterns of Blackfoot moccasin designs.

531 294 the front, or toe and instep area. Uppers completely covered with beadwork, such as were common among the Cheyenne, Arapaho and the Siouan tribes of the Northern Plains were not characteristic of the Blackfeet.

531 294 Elderly Indians claim that the oldest Blackfeet moccasin design with which they are familiar is Type A. It was much used for decorating one-piece, winter moccasins with quillwork or real beads in their youth. One advantage of the design was that it used few beads. The curved or angular front element was but four beads wide. The three "jumps" were only two rows wide. The design was commonly made in two colors, either red and white quills, or red and blue or yellow and red beads. Indians call this design "crooked nose quillwork" or "crooked nose beadwork." A pair of one piece moccasins bearing this decoration in yellow and blue seed beads is shown in figure 42. The basic design is here elaborated by a frontal projection.

Another old moccasin design is Type B. It was known as "round quillwork" or "round beaded work." It was often combined with a band of decoration around the edge of the upper above the sole joint. Women who had few beads sometimes cut the pattern out of flannel and sewed it to the moccasin. The artist Bodmer's drawings among the Crow and Mandan in 1833, show that the same basic pattern was employed by those tribes more than 100 years ago. [175] [171]

Type C is also an old pattern of Blackfeet moccasin decoration, done in quillwork or beadwork. Indians call it "cross quillwork or beadwork" or "striped quillwork or beadwork." It consists of a series of evenly spaced stripes across the toes and instep and a border around the edge of the upper. Red, yellow and green quills were commonly used in the design. Bodmer also represents this basic pattern in his drawings of Mandan Indians in 1833. [175] [171]

Types D and E may be mentioned together. The former has been termed an old

[P 41-A)

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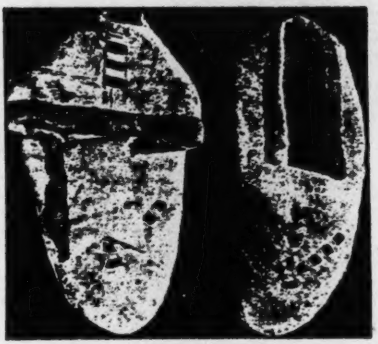

42. "Crooked nose beadwork" applied to a pair of soft-soled moccasins.

design done in quillwork, the U-shape of which covered the joint of an inserted tongue in an old type of one-piece moccasin. 531 294
Type D is more modern, although this decoration appears on moccasins worn by Piegan Indians in photographs taken in the 1880's. The base is of flannel, edged with beadwork, and the three projections are in beadwork. Older Indians believe that White men played some part in the development of this pattern. [177] The pattern is termed "White man sewing," "half breed work" or "three finger beadwork." Indians deny that the three-pronged figure is intended to symbolize the three divisions of the Blackfeet, as some White writers have suggested.

Some older Indians state that the "mountain design" was used for decorating dress moccasins in either quillwork or beadwork many years ago, but one woman over 80 years old, denied that it was ever much used to decorate moccasins.

Type F, a floral design, has been employed extensively in the decoration of Blackfeet moccasins since the 1870's. It has always been made in seed beads. There is considerable variation in the pattern, but usually it is bilaterally symmetrical on the long axis.

In the summer of 1833, Maximilian observed that the quill decorated moccasins 531 294 178 [075]

[P-41-87]

43. "White man sewing" design on a child's moccasin.

of the Blackfeet each 531
had a ground of a 294
different color for its
ornament; thus, if 178
one was white, the [175]
other was yellow. He
also attributed this [171]
custom to the Gros
Ventre, but said it
was not known to the
tribes further down
the Missouri. This
seems to have been a
custom that became
obsolete among the
Blackfeet by the
second half of the
century. None of [156]
our older informants
had heard of it, [165]
although they stated that medicine men or
women were accustomed to paint their moccasins red with earth paint, and mourners
sometimes painted their moccasins black.

Decoration of Women's Dresses

It is probable that the Blackfeet woman's 291
dress style was also changed during the first 178
quarter of the nineteenth century. Before
that time the characteristic woman's dress 175
may have been simply a long slip fastened

531
294

44. Moccasins beaded in floral pattern.

[P.42-A]

291

45. Woman's dress, probably more than 100 years old.

by bands over the shoulders, with separate 291
sleeves tied together at the neck in cold 178
weather. There is considerable evidence 175
that this was the characteristic dress of the
tribes to the eastward of the Blackfeet on
the Northern Plains as far south as the Mandan
Villages before 1800. However, the
typical Blackfeet woman's dress in Maximilian's
time (1833) and since, has been
fashioned with a cape pieced to the body of
the dress, extending over the shoulders and
upper arms, fitting rather close to the neck.
In pattern, everyday dresses and those worn 531 ●
for special occasions were the same, but the 294
latter were elaborately decorated, whereas [292]
those used for rough wear were not. Maxi- [175]
milian observed that the best dresses of the
women were ornamented with "dyed porcupine
quills and thin leather strips, with
broad diversified stripes of sky-blue and
white glass beads. The elkskin dress shown [178]
in figure 45, believed to have been obtained
by the naturalist, Audubon, in 1843, illus-

[P.42-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44-B]

291
294
531 ●

46. Seed beads used to decorate a dress of blue trade cloth.

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

531
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301
535

[P-44-A]

47. Women dressed in cloth costumes dancing, ca. 1910.

trates the typical woman's decorated dress 531 ●
of the last hundred years. The decoration 294
is in dark blue and white "real beads," ap- [178]
plied in bands at the top of the dress over
each shoulder, to a wider, meandering band-
ed area over the breast, and a narrow band
at the lower edge. The breast band is al-
ways applied in vertical strings of beads of
a single color. The area is divided into
long, parallel, meandering bands of two or
more colors, one placed above another to
form the design. In the late '90's and early
years of the present century, "basket
beads" generally were employed in this
decoration. Decorative patches of red and
black flannel were added to the lower
portions of woman's dresses, as shown on
the Audubon specimen. In the old days [556]
wealthy men's wives were wont to decorate [237]
their dresses with four rows of elk teeth
instead of, or in addition to, the beadwork.
In more recent years silk dresses have been [178]
decorated after the fashion of the tradition-
al ones of skin.

Decoration of Women's Leggings

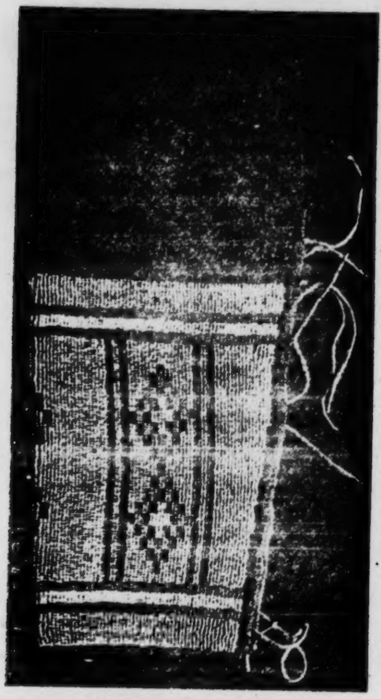
Women's leggings were formerly of skin, more recently of flannel (usually red or

blue). They reached to the knee, and had 531
a single, vertical seam on the outside. The 294
beaded designs are usually limited to the
lower portion of the legging visible below
the low-hanging dress. Most commonly the
beaded pattern is comprised of horizontal
stripes, or stripes and the mountain design.
Little girl's best leggings and dresses were
made and decorated like women's clothing
scaled down to a smaller size.

Decoration of Men's Suits

Like that of the women, the everyday
clothing of Blackfeet men was generally
plain and undecorated except with fringes.
Their ceremonial or dress suits, however, [292]
were very elaborately decorated with quill- [237]
work or beadwork, sometimes with painting, [291]
and weasel tails or hair fringe. The con-
struction pattern of the typical dress suit of
the nineteenth century probably goes back
to prehistoric times. The shirt was made 294
of two deer or antelope hides cut and pieced [281]
together. It was of the poncho type, put on
over the head, with long, closed sleeves, and
the traditional style retained the skin from
the hind legs of the animals which hung

531 ●
294
291



43. Woman's beaded leggings.

down in long trailers at each side, front and 294
back. A more modern style eliminates
these trailers by cutting the skin straight
across or in a slight arc at the bottom. There
were two styles of finishing the neck. Either 531
a V-shaped flap, decorated with fringe and 294
stripes of quillwork or beadwork, was in- [237]
serted, front and back, or the insert was
omitted. In the latter case the shirt usually is decorated with a large rosette in quillwork or beadwork over the chest and in a
corresponding position on the back. Maxi- [175]
milian in 1833, found both these styles in [171]
use among the Blackfeet, although he stated that the use of rosettes was a foreign
fashion, derived from the Assiniboine. Some

[P. 45-A]

men's suits made in the late years of the 531
nineteenth century have the insert beaded 294
in horizontal stripes. Others exhibit the
beaded rosettes. Bands of quillwork or [237]
beadwork were laid over the shoulders and
down the sleeves covering the sleeve seams.
In Maximilian's time these were generally
of quillwork three fingers (about two inches)
wide. The old style beaded bands in "real
beads" were the same width. Bodmer illus- [175]
trates three of them as worn by prominent
leaders in 1833. The simple bar and cross
designs are in white, the backgrounds in
blue beads. Elderly men today say that in
their youth a band about two inches wide
with narrow, solid color borders and central
decorated area was considered an old type
of sleeve or shoulder decoration. The borders were beaded first, and the decoration
in the central area applied afterward. The
larger size embroidering beads, "real
beads," were then used. Backgrounds for
the decorations were either white or blue.

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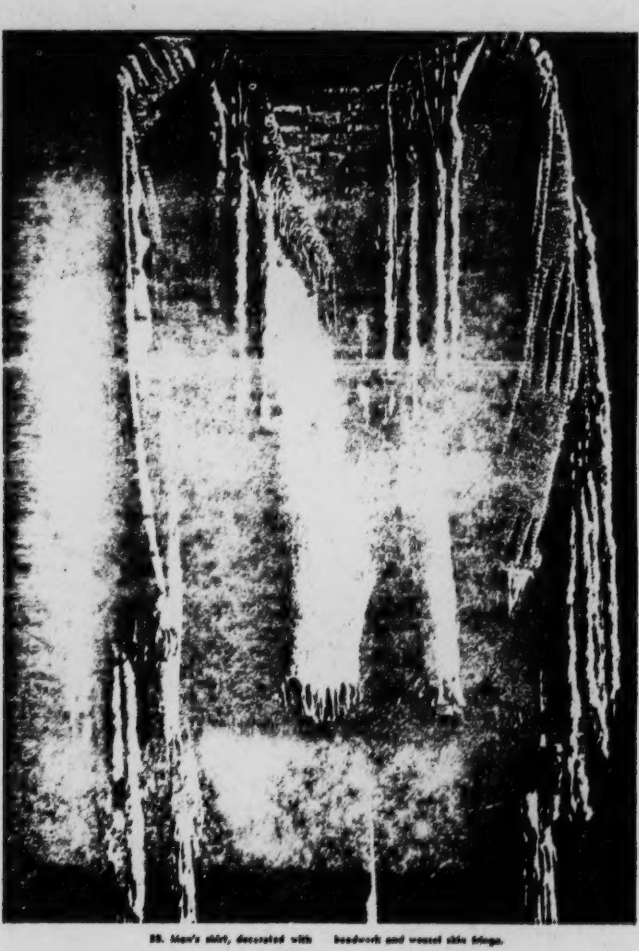
294

49. Man's beaded leggings

[P.45-B]

294
291
531



33. Man's shirt, decorated with beadwork and weasel skin fringe.

531
294
[178]

The design was usually very simple, and in monochrome. The women still used the bar and cross illustrated by Bodmer and also employed the mountain design, the elongated feather (usually in pairs side by side) and an hour glass formed by two triangles turned apex to apex. In the 1880's the younger Piegan women began to bead wider

291
302
531

shirt and legging strips, without borders, using a greater variety of colors in seed beads and a somewhat greater variety of designs.

531
294
[291]

The traditional men's leggings were of deer or antelope skin to match the shirt. They reached to the hips. Each legging was supported by a skin strap tied to the belt. When new suits were made up in the old days the leggings and shirts were decorated

[P-47-A]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48-A]

291
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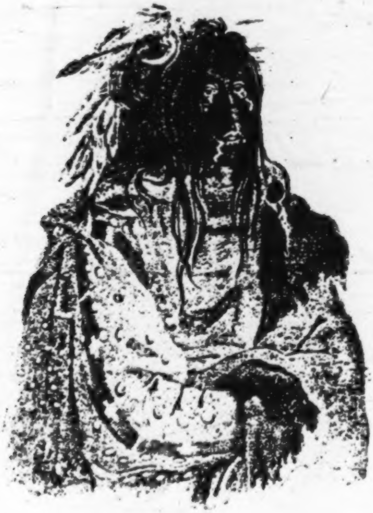
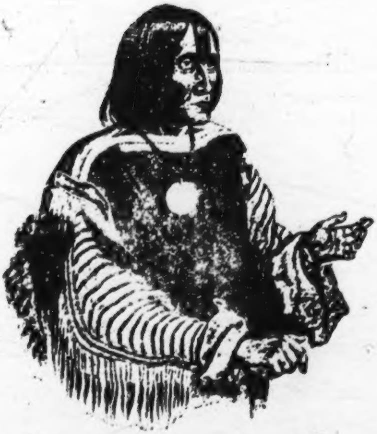
531 ●

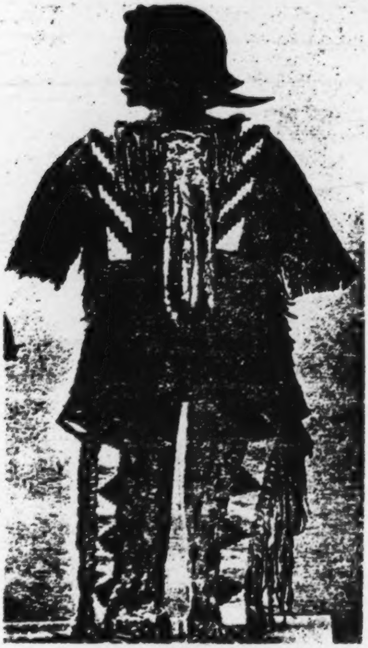




51. Beaded shirts worn by three chiefs in the summer of 1833.

[P.47-B]

291
294



52. Small boy's beaded suit.

to match. Each legging bore a long, vertical band of quillwork or beadwork along the outside of the leg. In width and design it was similar to the shoulder and arm bands of the shirt. However, shirts sometimes were transferred from one owner to another without the leggings so that it was not uncommon for men to be seen in dress shirts and leggings with different patterns of decoration. Small boys' dress suits were men's suits in miniature.

531
294
[432]

Men who had taken scalps or killed enemies in war were privileged to wear hair lock fringes and horizontal painted stripes on their shirts and leggings.

A man's dress suit was a precious possession. Great care went into its manufacture

[P-48-A]

and decoration. It is said that the fastest 531
Piegan beadwork, in the late years of the 294
use of "real beads," required nearly three
weeks to complete a man's shirt, leggings
and moccasins. In the more recent seed
bead period women have been known to
work months on a suit. Such a suit was [292]
worn only in ceremonials or on other special [764]
occasions, and was carefully preserved
so that the owner might be buried in it.

Decoration of Robes and Blankets

Some buffalo robes, worn by wealthy men 531
or women on dress occasions, were decorated 237
with porcupine quills in narrow, parallel
bands running the long dimension of the 294
hide, about a foot apart. There was generally 556
a block of red quills in the center of
each line flanked by sections of quillwork
in other colors. A robe of this kind also
had a triangle of quillwork about eight
inches high, pointing inward from each of
the hind leg areas of the hide. This robe
known simply as "quilled robe." It was [435]
valued at more than two horses.

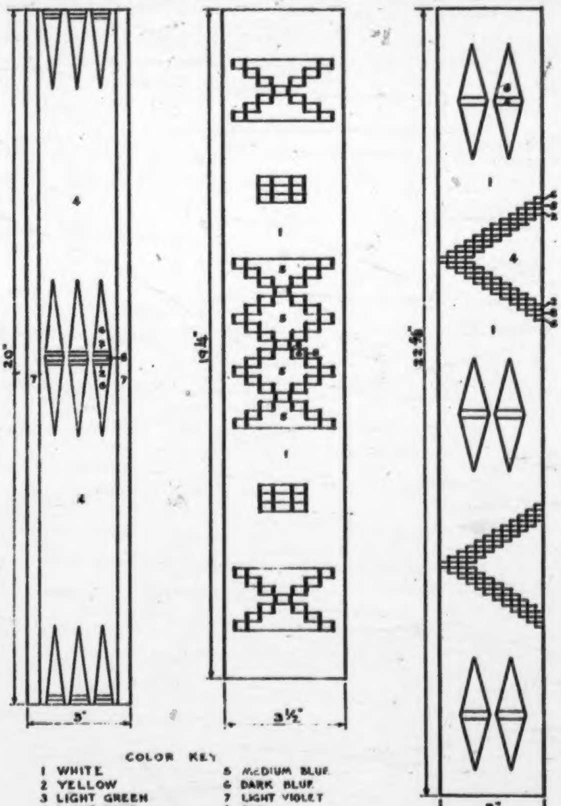
Bands of quillwork or beadwork formerly 531
were placed along the centers of buffalo 237
robes or blankets. These bands generally
were divided at intervals in their length by
rosettes. (See Page 64)

Decoration of Containers

Many soft skin containers made in the 531
last 75 years by the Blackfeet have been
decorated with beadwork. It is not known 415
to what extent quillwork was formerly used on these articles. In the decoration of small containers such as awl cases and paint pouches the beaded designs are composed generally of stripes, elaborated by transverse bars. The typical Blackfeet pipe and tobacco pouch was formerly decorated with geometric designs. Those made in late buffalo days generally employed mountain designs and stripes in the pattern of the nearly square beaded area immediately above the fringe. Later flowered patterns were extensively employed on these soft skin pouches.

[P·48-B]

DESIGNS USED ON MEN'S SHIRT BANDS



COLOR KEY

1 WHITE	5 MEDIUM BLUE
2 YELLOW	6 DARK BLUE
3 LIGHT GREEN	7 LIGHT VIOLET
4 LIGHT BLUE	8 RED

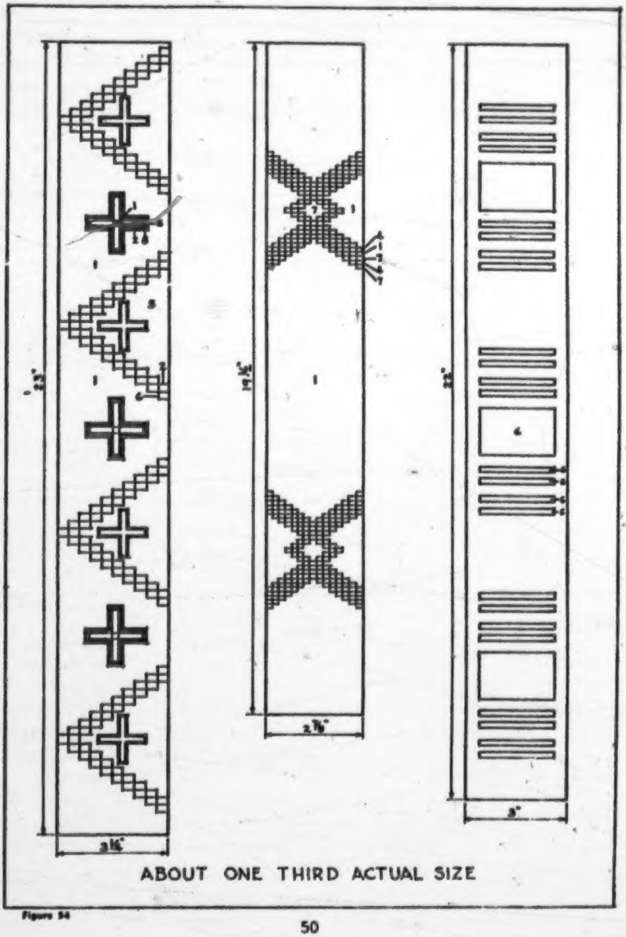
ALL BLACK AREAS SHOWN AS BLACK

ABOUT ONE THIRD ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 33

DESIGNS USED ON MEN'S SHIRT BANDS

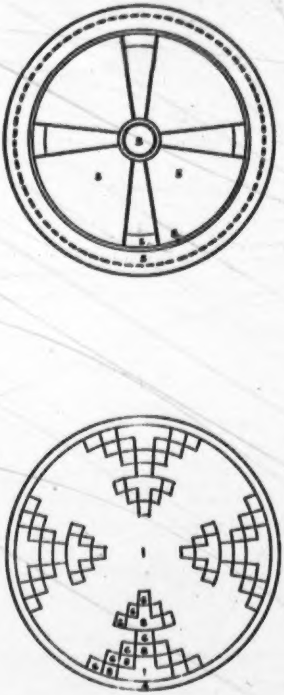
531
294


23"
3 1/16"
1
2
5
6
19 3/4"
7
1
2 7/8"
22"
6
3"

ABOUT ONE THIRD ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 54

ROSETTE DESIGNS USED ON MEN'S SHIRTS AND BLANKET BANDS


8
5
8
5
5
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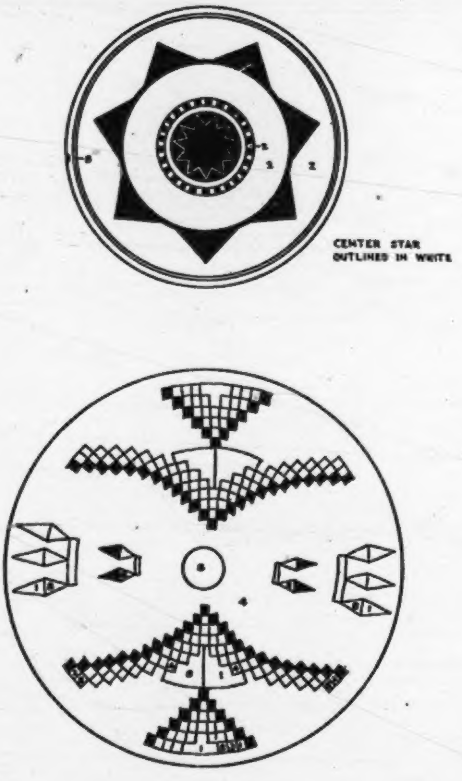
1
8

ABOUT ONE HALF ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 35

ROSETTE DESIGNS USED ON MEN'S SHIRTS AND BLANKET BANDS



CENTER STAR OUTLINED IN WHITE

ABOUT ONE HALF ACTUAL SIZE

Figure 36

531
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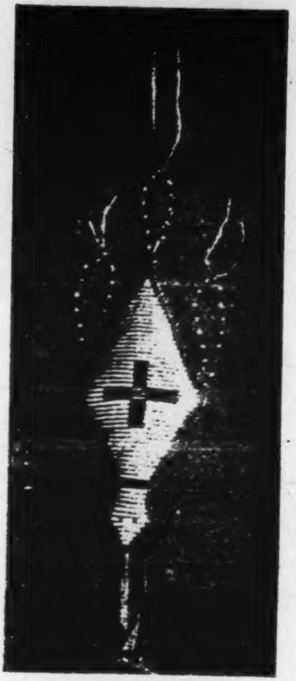

57. Beaded navel cord amulet.

Decoration of Riding Gear

531
492

Those articles of riding equipment that offered sizable, flat, soft surfaces were generally decorated with beadwork. These included men's soft, hair stuffed pad saddles, martingales and cruppers used generally by women, and double saddle bags. Some pad saddles were formerly decorated with small rosettes near the corners, more recently with floral designs. The soft skin bases of martingales and cruppers were covered with red or black flannel. Older Indians say that in their youth the flannel was decorated in beadwork with angular designs "something like parfleche designs." In more recent times floral designs, combined with a

[P.53-A]

531
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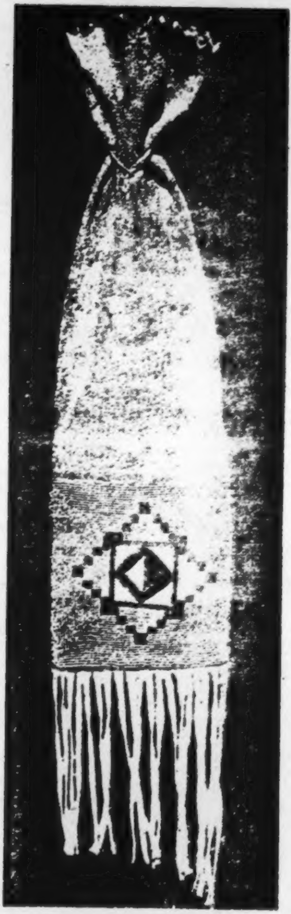


58. Beaded tobacco pouch.

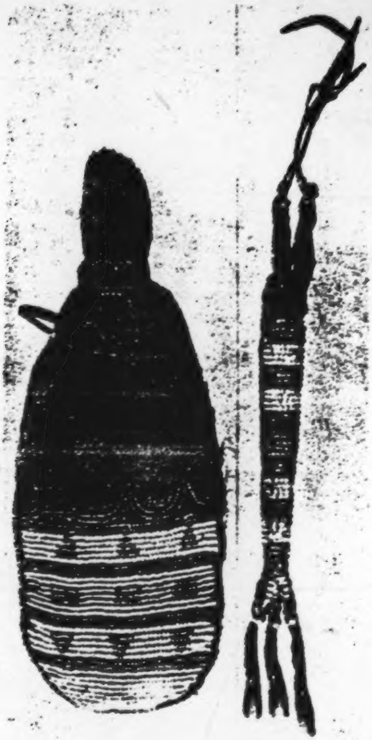
double-curve have been employed. Nearly square flannel panels were sewed onto the saddle bags also. When the bag was in place over the horn of the saddle, one panel hung at each side of the horse. Before floral patterns were in vogue, these panels

531
492

[P.53-B]

531
778
←

531
415
→



59. Beaded medicine necklace pouch and awl case.

531
492

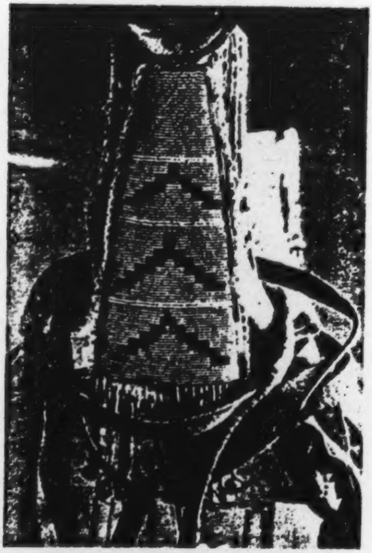
were commonly decorated with geometric designs, consisting of horizontal stripes, mountain designs and other small elements. In recent times beaded flowers and double-curves have been used to decorate the panels. Fancy saddles used by women in parades in recent times are decorated with pendant triangular flaps hanging from their high horns and others from the stirrups. These, too, are beaded.

[P-54-A]

Symbolism

Many White people believe that every Indian design is endowed with some symbolic meaning to the Indian. In reality most Blackfeet designs in painting, quillwork and beadwork are purely abstract, decorative forms as devoid of meaning as the pattern on the average White man's necktie or on his wife's dress. The Indian names for most of the common Blackfeet designs are descriptive rather than symbolic. Even in the case of the "mountain design" it is most probable that the name was given as an easy means of identification after the design form was developed. There is little likelihood that the design was devised to represent a mountain. It is only in the religious painting of the Blackfeet, that a high degree of symbolism is present. It is most complex in the decoration of Blackfeet painted lodges. 531

531
492

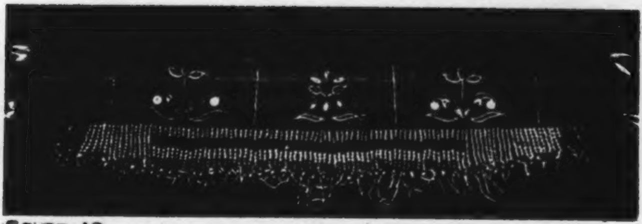


60. Beaded flap on the pommel of a woman's saddle.

[P.54-B]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

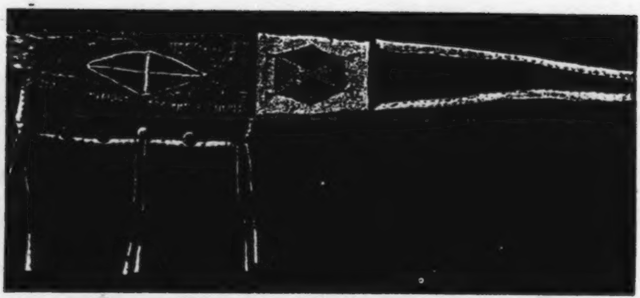
531
492



[Q-56-A]

61. Beaded martingale for a woman's horse.

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



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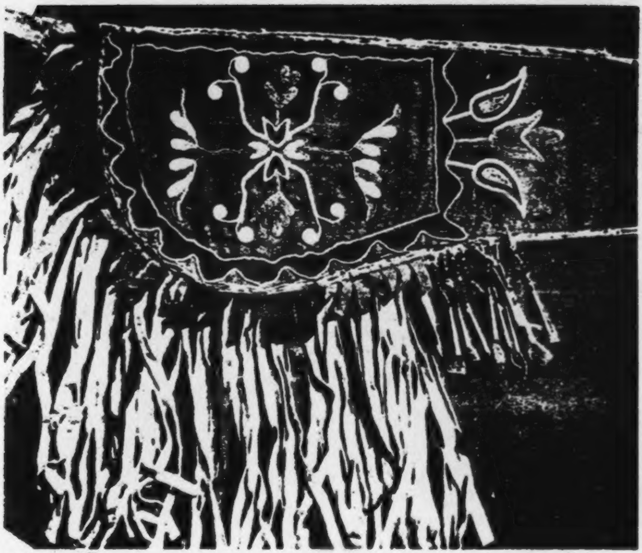
178

[P55-C]

62. Beaded horse crupper (old style, geometric design).

531

178



[P-56-A]

63. Beaded horse crupper (more recent style, floral design).

531
492

64. Beaded double saddle bag.

more elaborate form of stone pipe has been 276
made with the aid of metal tools. It is 324
known as the "real pipe." The stone most [412]
commonly used was a grayish, calcareous
shale quarried from several sites beside the 316
eastward flowing rivers of the Blackfeet
country. The Piegan claim that the site
longest used by their people is a cliff overlooking the Two Medicine River, about two
miles above its junction with Badger Creek,
on their Montana reservation. They refer
to the site as Pipestone Cliff.

In making a pipe a block of stone about 276
324
412

[P.57-A]

was inserted in a hole in the fold of rawhide, 294
and a small, willow pin, grooved in the mid- 237
dle, was wedged tightly into the hollow end [824]
of the feather for nearly half the length of
the pin. The pin was attached to the inner [283]
fold of rawhide (the fold that would be nearest the wearer's head) by means of a buckskin cord passed around the groove in the pin, through the rawhide and tied on the other side of the rawhide strip. A second method of attaching feathers to the headband, sometimes preferred, was to cut away about half of the end of the feather, bending the remaining portion back and tucking the end of it into the hollow of the feather. The feather was tied to the headband through the loop thus formed.

After the feathers were secured, the outer surface of the folded rawhide was covered with red flannel and the inner surface (next to the head) with white cloth. The two pieces of material were then sewn together.
The band was tied together around the [283]
head by two buckskin strings at the back, each string passing through a hole in each
end of the band. The headband was deco- [531] ●

[171]

78. Sioux-Type feather bonnet (recent Blackfoot style).

[P.60-B]

rated with small brass disks sewed to the 294
flannel. The tail feathers of the golden 237
eagle, white with black tips, were preferred [531]
for this bonnet and from 18 to 30 were
used. Most bonnets were further decorated with porcupine quill-wrapped pieces of thin rawhide sewed to the ribs of the feathers, with short plumes at the bases of the feathers, and with strips of white weasel skin attached to the headband.

Very few "straight-up bonnets" are now 292
worn. About the year 1895 the Sioux type [177]
of bonnet was introduced among the Black- [178]
feet. It has become so popular as to replace
the traditional Blackfeet style almost en- [171]
tirely. Elderly Indians say that one impor- [178]
tant reason why the "straight-up bonnet" rarely is seen today is because it is considered a very sacred thing, and very few people have the right to wear it, whereas the Sioux type of flowing feather bonnet has no such religious meaning to the Blackfeet. It is just a picturesque hat. Anybody can wear it.

291
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302

71. Modern sport jackets

[P.61-A]

531●
291

72. Modern moccasins decorated with traditional design.

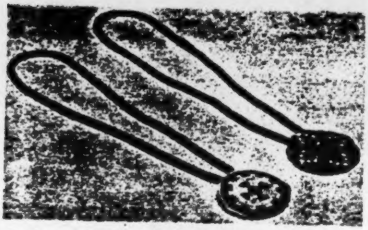
MODERN BLACKFEET CRAFTS

In the first thirty-five years of this century 178
the native crafts of the Blackfeet
declined both in quantity and quality. The [431]
best examples of Blackfeet handicrafts
usually were the articles made as gifts for
friends and relatives to use in their native
ceremonies and social dances. Some articles 439
were sold to tourists as souvenirs of their
visits to the Indian country. The tourist
trade was a desultory, unorganized business,
and many of the articles bought by uncritical
tourists were poorly made, unworthy
of the Blackfeet tradition of fine craftsmanship.

Then in 1936, the Blackfeet Craft Shop 474
was organized, under the sponsorship of 411
the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the [657]
Education Division of the United States
Indian Service. Its aim was not only to revive [439]
the Blackfeet tradition of expert craftsmanship, [178]
but to make craftwork a source
of income to the Indians by encouraging
greater production, and finding a market
for the finished articles among people who
appreciate the aesthetic and monetary value

[P·61-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63-A]



301
531

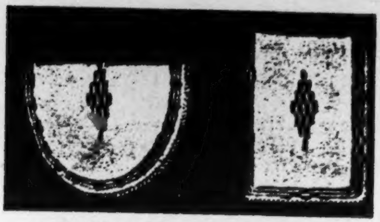
74. Beaded necklaces (modern).

of well made, genuine, useful Indian handicrafts. 474

The Blackfeet Craft Shop is a cooperative organization composed of Indian craftsmen and craftswomen living on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. Its governing body is a Council whose members are elected from its general membership. It employs its own Indian business manager. The Craft Shop buys the best raw materials at wholesale for resale to its members at low prices. A Buying Committee of handicraft workers passes upon all articles submitted for sale through this organization and insists upon high standards of workmanship, in keeping with the best traditions of the tribe. For example, all beadwork accepted must be sewn with durable sinew as were the articles made by early Blackfeet. Beaded designs must be in the older tradition of geometric forms, and not in the more recent floral patterns of alien origin. The committee determines both the selling price of each article and the amount the worker is to receive for it. The Blackfeet Craft Shop thus safeguards the purchaser by assuring him genuine, Indian made handicrafts of high quality, worthy of the prices asked for them. On the other hand, it assures the Indian craftsmen and craftswomen of fair returns for their skilled labors. [439] [178] [178]

Modern Blackfeet craftsmen are not engaged in making mere souvenirs. They are making beautiful articles that anyone will be proud to own and to use. Among their most popular articles are attractively 433 441 178

[P.63-A]



415
531
177

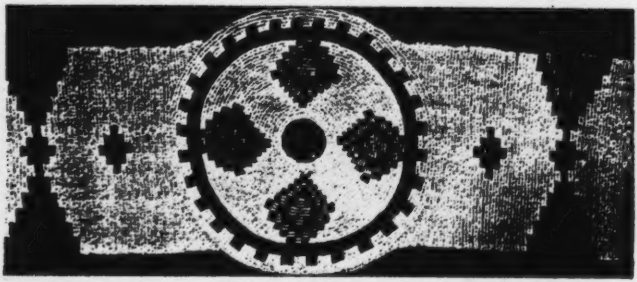
75. Modern coin purse and cigarette case.

tailored sports jackets in either Indian-tanned buckskin or commercial suede. The 433
jackets are made in two different styles, 441
both decorated with beadwork. Other pop- 178
ular articles are moccasins of soft tanned [294]
skin beaded with old Blackfeet designs, [531]
buckskin gloves, women's sport hats, beaded [439]
buckskin or suede coin purses, cigarette
cases, playing card cases, and dolls dressed
in traditional Blackfeet costumes. Black- 178
feet craftsmen also make a few traditional 439
articles such as stone pipes, rawhide covered drums, and feather bonnets, which are
of special interest to the collector.

These articles are marketed through the 444
retail store owned and operated by the 474
Blackfeet Craft Shop on the Park Highway
near the St. Mary's entrance to Glacier
National Park. They are sold retail and

76. Corner of the craft sales room in the museum.

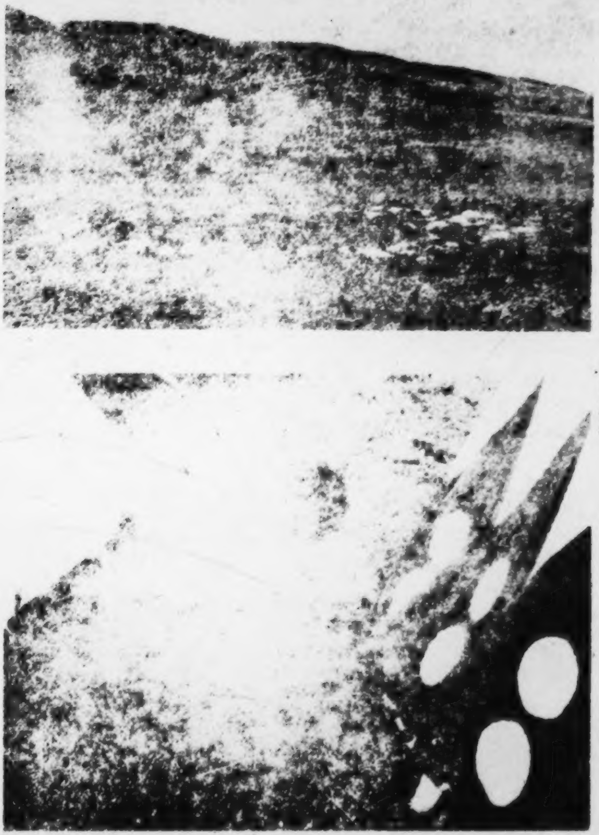
[P·63-B]



77. Section of a beaded blanket band.

[P-64-B]

172
342
133



531
342

a, Site 24GL520, tipi rings associated with a buffalo drive site on the south side of Milk River Ridge. (See pl. 49, *a*.) Fragmented bones were found in abundance in the hill slope beyond the jump. Rock pile drive lanes extend from the drop-off along the crest of the Ridge (not visible in photograph). *b*, Blackfoot woman repairing Lodge 26 at the 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont.

A, [See Category 116, p. 474-B--Analyst]

[P.474-G]

42: Kehoe A,G-4,5 (1953, 1956) 1960
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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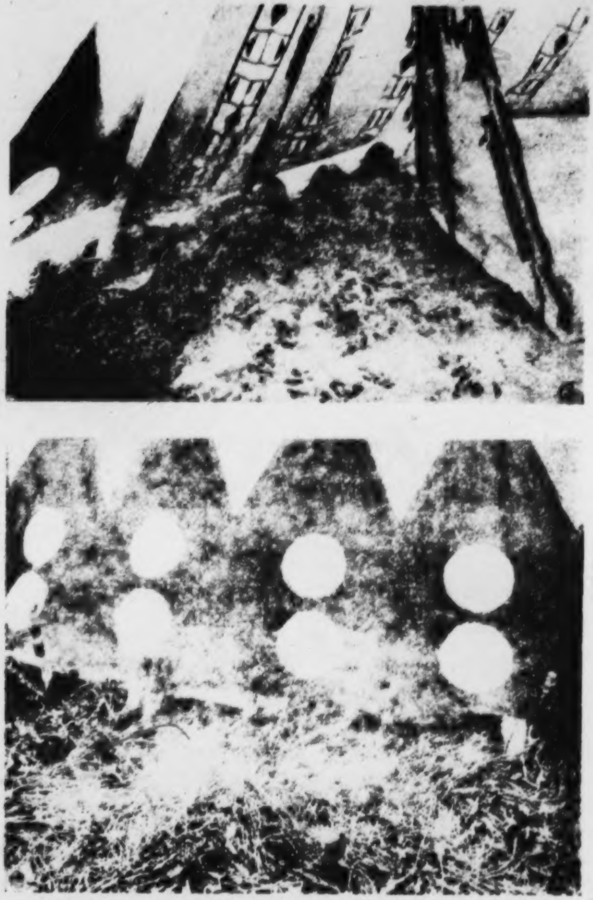

a, Rocks holding down inner lining, Lodge 26 (owned by Mae Williamson), 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. *b*, View from outside Lodge 26, showing rocks pushing out inner lining (see *a*).

[p. 474-J]

42: Kehoe A,G-4,5 (1953, 1956) 1960
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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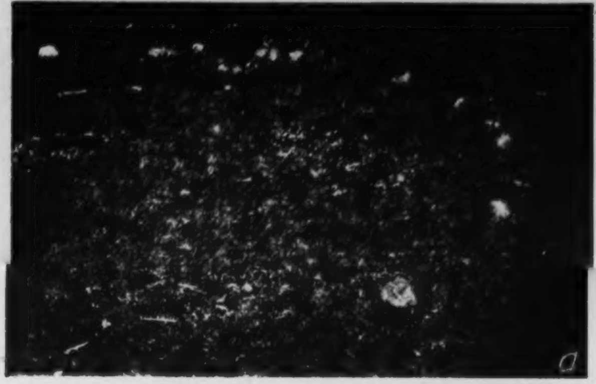

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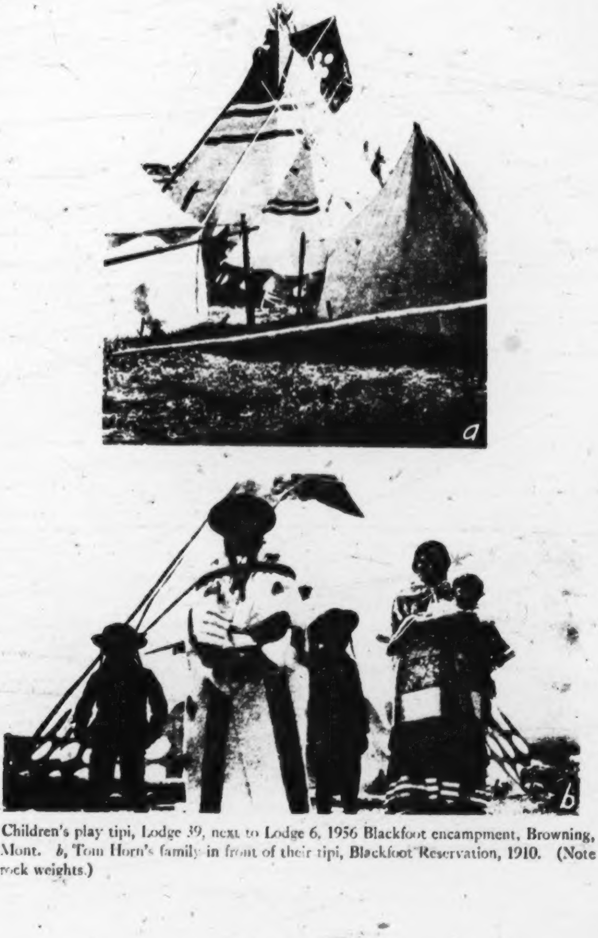
a, Closeup view of Mary Ground's tipi ring, site of Lodge 30, 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. Dotted line indicates former position of tipi pegs (i. e., edge of lodge cover). Note lack of packing of grass along edge of ring. *b*, Blackfoot man using 2-foot-wide doorway of Lodge 2, 1956 encampment.

[p. 474-M]



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a, Children's play tipi, Lodge 39, next to Lodge 6. 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont. *b*, Tom Horn's family in front of their tipi, Blackfoot Reservation, 1910. (Note rock weights.)

[p.474-N]

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF BLACKFOOT QUILLWORK

Abstract

Quillwork among the Indian tribes of the Northwest as practised by the women embodied features of religious significance of a restrictive nature. 531 Only a few women had the right to do this work and it was they who gave permission for others to be initiated into the religious pattern. The symbolisms, while varying between tribes, included specific prayers, face and hand painting and the wearing of specific ornaments, such as necklaces, while quilling. Quill work was done in return for gifts and the finished [431] product could not be sold. Designs could be used only by the owner unless they were given away. [425]

The religious significance of art forms among the Blackfoot Indians has generally been associated with the men. 462 Such fields as the painting and transferring of tipi designs, or the painting 532 of war exploits on buffalo robes or shields were male responsibilities and were accompanied by religious ceremonies and taboos.

However, little religious significance has been attached to female crafts. 462 The painting of parfleche containers, lodge liners, etc., or 531 the beading or ornamenting of clothing for nonreligious use depended mainly upon the maker's skill.

While details of the techniques of Blackfoot quillwork have been recorded, primarily by 531 Orchard (1916) and Ewers (1945), only passing attention has been given to the religious significance of this pre-European craft. [178] The most detailed comments have been made by Ewers, who stated it was a "sacred craft" and that "younger women were initiated ceremonially into the art of handling the sharp-pointed quills" (Ewers 1945). [178] Although quillworking is now almost a forgotten art among the Blackfoot, there are at least seven persons who have occasionally done such work in the past decade. Of

[P-52-A]

these, two each are women from the Blackfoot, 531
Blood and North Peigan tribes, while one is a
man from the Bloods. [178]

While the author was gathering data on Blackfoot
quillwork techniques in 1960, a Blackfoot [115]
informant, wife of the head chief, first mentioned
the religious aspect. Later interviews with
the North Piegans and Bloods provided additional [124]
data on the religious aspects of the craft.

The primary informant, Mrs. Victoria Mc- [115]
Hugh,[1] was raised on the Sarsi reserve and
learned quillworking from her adopted grandmother,
a Blackfoot. She had not done any of
this work since 1936 but was able to demonstrate
some of the more common techniques.
She stated:

> In the summer of 1924, when I was about twelve or fourteen years old I was initiated to do quillwork. My grandmother and I were all alone in her tent.
> She painted my face so that I would not [302]
> go blind from doing quillwork. Then
> she gave prayers for good health for me [751]
> and all in our family.

The paint, which was to be worn whenever 531
doing quillwork, was applied in the following
manner. Yellow ochre was mixed with a little 302
fat in the palm of the left hand. The index and
second fingers of the right hand were rubbed
into it, and a V-shaped mark was placed from
the forehead to the bridge of the nose. Red
paint was mixed and, with the right index finger
it was applied in a vertical line above the bridge
of the nose. The final appearance was similar
to that of a crow's foot and was designed to protect
the person's eyesight. The backs of the [751]
hands were also painted with red ochre to prevent
them from swelling.

At the time of her initiation, the informant 531
was given a necklace. This was made of ten
porcupine claws with different colored quills 301
wrapped as spacers. She was told to wear this
when doing quillwork, and to paint it each time
with red ochre. She said,

> Whenever persons wanted to do quillwork
> they put the necklace on and this was a
> signal for everyone to leave the tipi.
> This was partly because of the holiness [778]

[P.52-B]

> 531 of quillworking and also so there would-
> 301 n't be any children or other persons
> around who might distract the worker.

[778] After being initiated, the new quillworker was
531 expected to make a single moccasin which was
left on a high hill as an offering to the Sun.
782 When starting to work, the face would be painted
[302] and red ochre placed on the necklace and the
backs of the hands. The arms were then crossed
over the breast and a prayer given to the
Sun.

531 According to the informant, only three women
in her grandmother's camp had the right to do
[431] quillwork. If persons wanted something quilled,
such as a suit, moccasins or a ceremonial
object, they would give gifts to one or all of
these women. Very often the three would work
together on a large object. When one woman
became too old, she would initiate a younger
woman, usually a relative, so that she might
receive the art from her.

[115] Inquiry among the other Blackfoot tribes revealed
some additional information on the subject. One North Peigan woman, Mrs. Bob Crow Eagle, whose mother had been a ceremonialist, said:

> [424] There were only a few women who had the right to do certain work in the old days. It was these women who could do quillworking or could give permission for others to do such work.

[115] A Blood informant, Harry Big Throat, also recalled ceremonial significances:

> [753] Many years ago, there was a woman who wouldn't go through any ceremony before doing quillwork. One day she was working, flattening the quills with her teeth. The white stuff from the inside of the quill went into her mouth and she got sick and died. Ever since then the Bloods have been slow to take up quillworking. They are afraid of it, afraid that something might happen to them.

He also remembered seeing Mrs. Red Crow,
[782] wife of the head chief (1879-1900), doing quillwork.
She would spread all her tools and quills
in front of her, and then pray before starting to
work.

531 Two informants also mentioned that quillwork
was not supposed to be sold. It could be made
425 for friends or relatives, or commissioned by
others in the camp, but could not be manufactured
432 solely for sale. This, explained one
woman, is the reason craftworkers in the res-

432
ervation period have not turned to quillworking 531
as a source of revenue.

Another informant, Mrs. Day River, said 425
that quillwork designs were sometimes the
result of dreams and could be used only by the 531
owners unless they wished to give them away.
If widespread, this custom could have been a [787]
factor in retarding the diffusion of quillwork
designs through the northern Plains and later [177]
may have affected the spread of beadwork designs. Rather than a mere tribal affinity for certain designs, there may have been a reluctance on religious grounds for copying designs which came from other tribes.

Comparative data on quillworking from other 171
tribes is scanty, but Grinnell (1923) indicates
a complex quilling society among the Cheyenne. 531
There are a number of comparable features, particularly in its religious significance and restrictive features.

Footnote:

1. Interviews with Mrs. Victoria McHugh, 531
Blackfoot Reserve, Oct. 17 and Nov. 16, 1960. 115
These interviews were made during the production of a short motion picture film for the Glenbow Foundation, dealing with Blackfoot quillwork.

Ewers, John C. 113
1945 Blackfeet Crafts. United States Indian Service.

Grinnell, George Bird
1923 The Cheyenne Indians, Vol. 1, pp. 159-67. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Orchard, William C.
1916 The Technique of Porcupine Quill Decoration Among the North American Indians. Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation, New York, Vol. 4, No. 4.

Hugh A. Dempsey
Glenbow Foundation
Calgary, Alberta
October, 1962

[P53-B]

122 picked up two stones, but for their texture, not their color (and no doubt Freud's boys could manufacture some significance out of even that small gesture of preference).

I took advantage of the warm day and the empty house to take a bath and put on clean clothing, then for dessert I played a tape of Beethoven's Fifth. Lunch, which followed dessert, consisted of tomato soup and a peanut butter sandwich—accompanied by liberal quantities of resentment that neither Jim nor the Chief showed up. It is now 2:30. I have been trying unsuccessfully to write, and I am tired, but I am going to town.

Later: On the way to town I stopped off to visit with Plenty Treaty
B.C. and his wife, Maggie. Maggie, whose Indian name is Sikáki
(Black Woman), is a small, roundish lady with cheeks as plump and
brown as fresh-baked loaves. She is 78 years old, but certainly
doesn't look it. She was sitting cross-legged in the middle of a bed,
making moccasins of white buckskin (for the top), parflêche (for
the sole), deer sinew (for thread), and beads (for decoration). Her
[531] moccasins are works of art. Her beadwork is intricate and always in
the traditional pattern (a three-pronged design, representing the
three divisions of the Blackfoot Nation—the Piegans, the Bloods and
the Blackfoots proper). Maggie does not wear glasses, but apparently
[292] she can see perfectly well without them. Louis (Plenty Treaty)
said that he needs a pair of bearskin moccasins for ceremonial wear,
and he showed me a piece of bearhide that he is keeping for the
purpose of making them. Maggie cannot help him out because it is
[784] taboo for her to touch bearskin. The situation suggests that probably
Louis is a *Kyái-aht-so-mi-tai* (bear dog), of the Crazy Dog Clan
(*K'náht-so-mi-tahks*).

[126] Snapped a picture of Louis and Maggie and then took Louis on to town with me. Could not find the boys. Had no mail. I searched for them in the Tribal Office which contains a long hallway with the following rooms designated, front to rear, by prominent signs: Tribal Chairman, F.H.A., Realty, Tribal Secretary, Employment, Housing, Chairman, Court Room, Ladies, Mens.

Dropped Plenty Treaty back at his house and went on back to the ranch. Jim and the old man were there, and I was just in time for a supper of hamburger, fried potatoes and tea. I spiked my tea with bourbon but soon wished I hadn't. After supper Jimmy took the telescope I had given to the Chief and went outside ("In case if I see anything") and almost immediately spotted three mule deer heading down toward the creek about a mile away. So we jumped into the truck and barrelled down the road and across the prairie

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Montana

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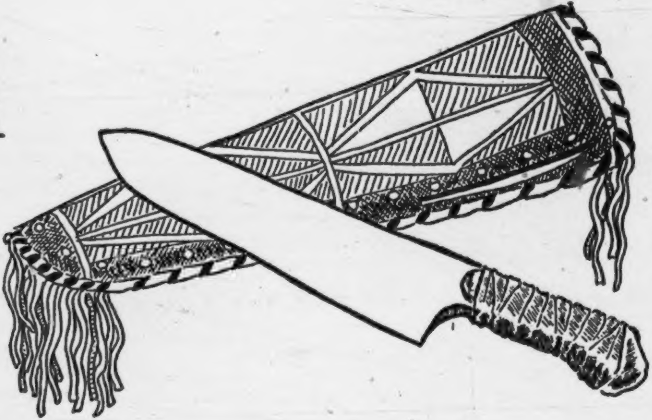


Wednesday, September 19

122 Slept late again. Jimmy woke me up, and when I stumbled grumpily into the kitchen the Chief was already at table, eating oatmeal. Jim had fried the rest of the kidney and liver for my benefit, but all I wanted was oatmeal and canned cherries. Jim fixed the flat on his truck and went off to help Joe Kicking-A-Woman fix his house—very neighborly, but rather impractical in view of all the fixing-up that needs to be done around here.

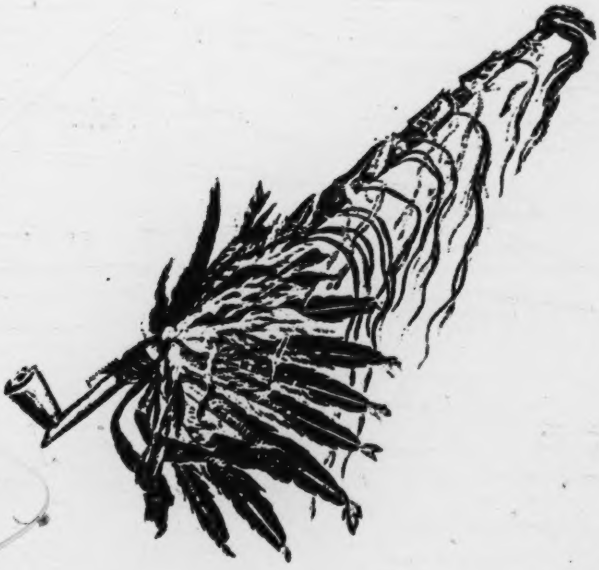
At ten o'clock I was in the kitchen taking a bath when the kitchen door suddenly opened and in walked Joe Morning Gun's wife, carrying in one hand a large butcher knife. She smiled and said good morning and started clearing the kitchen table, and there I was—about as inconspicuous as a lighted chandelier. Mrs. Morning Gun was not in the least embarrassed, and neither, I keep telling myself, was I. That is why, substantially abetted by a lubricating layer of wet soap suds, I suavely donned my vestments in a casual three seconds flat!

251 A few minutes later, Joe came in—also carrying a butcher knife—accompanied by the Chief. The three of them sat at the kitchen table and began with great industry to prepare of those delicious hindquarters of moose for drying. The meat is not cut off in slices—it would be impossible to slice it thin enough. Instead, the meat is cut off in a rather thick chunk, and the chunk is then held in the hand and scored with sort of accordion pleats so that when hung

56: Maximilian   N, T-5   (1833) 1976
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Montana

AUGUST 25, 1833   [FIELD JOURNAL]

The dogs of the Indians howled terribly during the night. 000
Hundreds of voices of all kinds were heard at the same time, and in this concert there was no difference at all from the howling of the wolves that we had heard so often of an evening in the lonely wilderness along the Missouri. It was Sunday, and people were wearing clean clothes. Two Indians 439
brought a horse and sold it to the Company for a cask of 435
whiskey, a blanket, powder, and shot. In the afternoon, when 000



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An elaborately decorated Blackfoot calumet, or ceremonial pipe.

[p.108-A]

below (Mr. Mc Kenzie) had sent his children hither, and 439
recommended them to the Blackfeet; they ought, therefore, to 177
treat them well, to bring them good meat, that they might not lament and complain, but be merry, and always have their bellies full." [*The likeness of Great Star is on page 104.*][A]

Soon after the arrival of the Great Star, Tatsiki-Stomik and Ihkas-Kinne came to the fort; they all asked for brandy, which seemed to be the main subject for their thoughts. Ihkas-Kinne was a tall, well-looking man, with a very marked
countenance. He wore an otter's skin over his shoulders, with [291]
the tail hanging down before, and which was ornamented [53]
all over with pieces of shell. [*For a portrait of Ihkas-Kinne,* [321]
see page 141.][B] This man had rendered some services to the fort, and was to be depended on. On this occasion he stepped forward, with a noble, manly air, and delivered a long speech. "The French," he said, "must have hearts ill-disposed towards the Indians; for, on the evening after the battle, they had not given the Blackfeet (he would not say a word of himself) anything to drink; even the chiefs had received nothing. They had come to the fort hungry and thirsty, and so they had left it, though they were fatigued by their exertions in fighting for the Whites. He was just this moment come from an expedition against the Crows, in which they had lost two of their people, and had no articles to trade with. They had traversed, without shoes, great tracts of prairie; their feet were sore, and tired, yet he had taken part in the action, and neither he nor others had received any present from the Whites."

Mr. Mitchell answered that "he would make the chiefs some presents tomorrow; though he thought that he had done enough, as he had distributed among them, on the preceding day, a great quantity of powder and ball, and received those that were in need into the fort. Though it was true that the Whites possessed many medicines which they could employ to the ruin of the Indians, he had no such thoughts. He would, however, show them such a one today, to give them an idea of the power of the Whites. When a cannon was fired, they should pay attention. Tomorrow he would have the colours hoisted, and a gun fired as a signal for the solemn reception of the chiefs." One of the Blackfeet chiefs had before observed, that "he was much surprised that the Whites always appeared in their common every day clothes, whereas they (the chiefs) put on their handsomest dresses. They had never seen the fine clothes of the Whites."

A, [See Category 302, p.104-A--Analyst]

B, [See Category 714, p.141--Analyst]

[P. 115-A]

56: Maximilian N, T-5 (1833) 1976
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Montana

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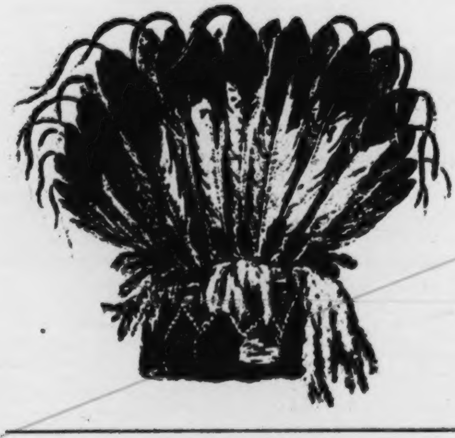

A war bonnet or "feather cap," as Maximilian called them.

[p.116-A]

56: Maximilian M, T-5 (1833) 1976 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Montana

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